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War On Russia's Side

LABORATORY FOR THE MODERN MIND

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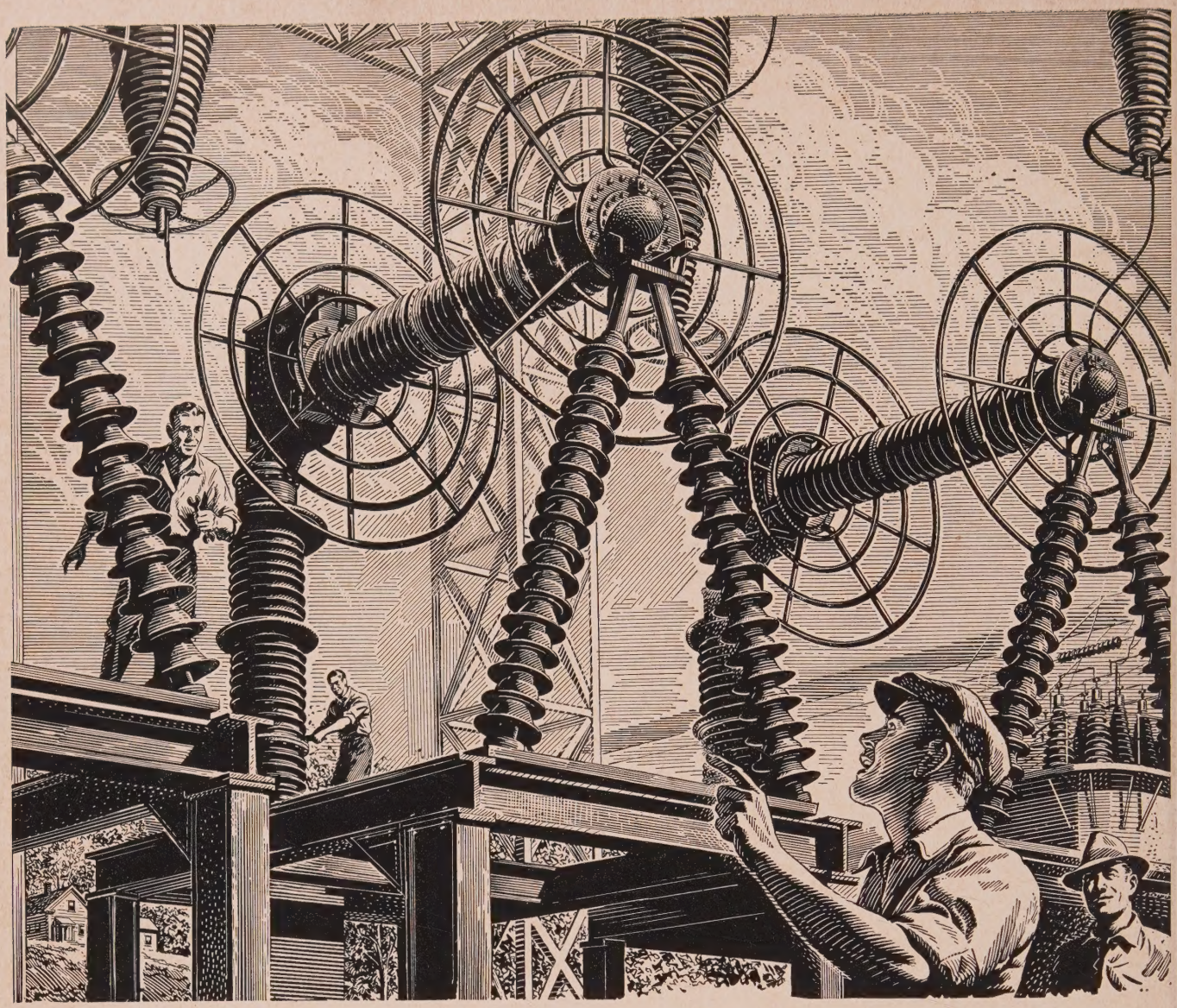

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The Philosophy of UNW

recognizes that this century is split between forces of unprecedented destructiveness and forces of building the world new. Two devastating world wars, fratricidal civil wars, a bisected globe and the dread of atomic extinction are among the curses that have been brought over our collective heads. Out of this pitchdark background, however, emerge heartening portents. A spirit of new fraternity is evident as man cares for his fellow more sincerely and more deeply than before, as new nations are born to fulfill old dreams of freedom, and as science and technology promise more abundant health and greater comfort.

UNW thinks it its duty to uncover and expose the forces of destruction as well as to spotlight and hold up the achievements of the nations and individuals who work for progress. In this issue, too, our pages are divided between somber warnings of approaching difficulties and reports on important and hopeful advances in many fields.

Among the negative aspects of the balance sheet are the following:

T. H. Tetens' revelation of how from a secure base in Argentina, a group of ultra-nationalist German political thinkers, the intellectual leaders of a future Fourth Reich, are banking on World War III to realize the old dream of *Deutschland Uber Alles*. This plan calls for nothing less than for Germany to join Russia in an all-out war against the West.

State of the World, UNW's famed department, reveals the terror which has Eastern Europe in its grip as a consequence of the Marxist split between Stalinism and Titoism.

Edmond Demaitre discusses one of the frightening psychological mysteries of our century: The methods and techniques which induce the victims of Eastern political trials to confess imaginary crimes, and even to ask for their own death.

On the credit side of the ledger, we find:

Ambassador Lambertus N. Palar's moving and constructive account of the birth of a nation. The independence of the United States of Indonesia is a new milestone in the history of a continent which is coming into its own with such irresistible force.

Pearl Buck, one of America's finest writers, reveals a culinary discovery whereby the hungry can be fed an entire meal for 3¢.

Jaime Torres Bodet, Director General of UNESCO, writes about the pioneer work his organization is doing to integrate the world's civilization and prepare a new charter in the cultural relationship of the nations of the earth.

Blake Carter reports the magnificent example of a determined and charming French girl who planned and executed the reconstruction of her devastated native village.

Laura Vitray, UN Editor, surveys the three foundations upon which, according to the declaration of President Harry S. Truman, American policy in the UN will be conducted in the coming years. They comprise the vital points of universal human rights, economic development, and control of atomic energy.

These are among the 20-odd items in this issue which UNW offers its readers as guides in the labyrinth of the complicated world of today.

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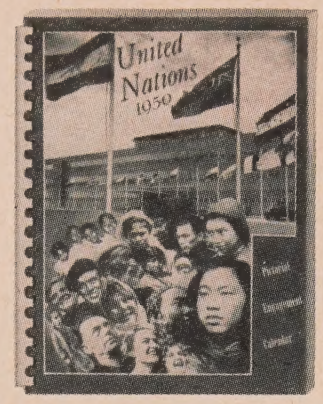

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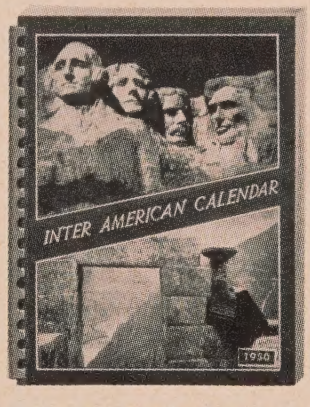

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ECUADOR

UNW is a fine and much-needed magazine, presenting facts and world developments objectively. But the October issue contains a statement about Ecuador that is not correct. In "Should the US Arm Latin America?" Col. Arnade writes, "recent shifts of power in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, Boljvia and Ecuador" must be borne in mind before any arming in the Latin America program.

The statement is correct, except for the fact that Ecuador is included. . . . Everybody knows that President Galo Plaza was legally elected by a majority of the Ecuadorian people two years ago. Perhaps, viewed in the light of the big strategic problems Col. Arnade discusses, this is an understandable mistake.

Anibal Viteri D.
Quito

UNW, which has a great respect for President Galo Plaza, stands corrected.—Ed.

ENGLAND

I dislike your journal most heartily. Probably it appeals to "important leaders of public opinion" in USA. But between you and myself there is not only an ocean, but a whole world.

Max Adler
London

INDIA

East and West can meet, to their mutual benefit. But it can be done only through the nationalization of means of production and distribution, land banks, industries, etc., the world over. Through such processes, natural resources, technical developments and manpower could be coordinated and world economy organized, productive efficiency and the standard of living raised to the same level everywhere. With the whole human race gainfully employed and thus provided with living security, free education, free medical attention and old age pensions, etc., there would be a gre world prosperity—no police, no milita and no secret police.

S. A. Wah
Bombay

SWITZERLAND

Your outstanding magazine has been r ceiving wide publicity in Swiss newspape and periodicals, and I take the liberty enclosing four cuttings concerning vario articles which have appeared in UNW.

Felix Stössing
Zurich

USA

In the article "New Watch on t Rhine" (UNW, October), I feel th the basic political theory is erroneou . . . The article starts with the statemer that many secret patents were held bac from the Allies by German industrialist That is true, but there is a simple expl nation. In 1945 the central German pate office was closed by the Allies, and Ge man manufacturers with new inventio would have had no legal protection. Th therefore held back their new patent One may blame them, but what indu trialist in the world would have behav otherwise?

Secondly, it is not true that Weste Germany's production in 1948 had reache nearly 80% of its 1936 level. This figure exact only for the last two months of th year, and only for Bizonia.

More important are my objections wi respect to the political conclusions in yo feature "State of the World." . . . May I make the mistake of underestimati the dangers (of the German problem) a overestimating the hopeful and positi signs; but your author . . . does not tou on those hopeful trends with a single wor

Dr. Hans Steinitz, Correspondent
DER BUND, Switzerland
New York, N. Y.

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The Kremlin's Next Three Moves

Within the framework of a new world popular front for peace, the USSR plans these strategic moves:

(1) Formal political and military alliance with Chinese Government that will include non-Communists.

(2) Offer of friendship and non-aggression pacts to a majority of Asiatic powers.

(3) Proposal to neutralize Germany and to withdraw all foreign troops from its territory.

JOSEPH V. STALIN

USSR Fears That West Has Secreted Atomic Weapons Next Door to Yugoslavia

Five major moves of the Western powers have fostered the alarms which now are shaping the policies of the USSR and its Eastern European allies. These moves are: (a) the Atlantic Pact; (b) the ever more cordial cooperation of the US with Western Germany; (c) quickening efforts to build a non-Communist alignment of states in Asia; (d) the signing of a separate peace treaty with Japan which would allow the latter to rearm and thus open the possibility of a two-front war in case of a new world conflagration; (e) the growing rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the West.

This development is the more disturbing to the Kremlin since it is convinced that atomic weapons have been secreted next door to Yugoslavia whose military position is thus immensely strengthened. The Kremlin views Tito's incredible daring in standing up against the USSR as based upon the certainty that the Western world has already indicated it would ultimately come to the aid of the Belgrade regime, should trouble arise.

Confidential informants in Eastern Europe—the same sources which enabled UNW to announce months in advance the finality of the break between Tito and the Cominform, the lifting of the Berlin blockade and other no less noteworthy events—today point out that the Soviet Union is preparing to counter Western strategy with a new three-pronged strategy of its own. They point out further that, to the Soviet mind, the West's maneuvers to contain Communism are virtually identical in aim with the attempts by hostile powers to "encircle" the first Bolshevik regime during the early days of the revolution. To avoid any such encirclement, the USSR is embarking upon these three related drives:

(1) The signing of a formal iron-clad alliance, military and political, with the People's Republic of China. To offset the impression that this arrangement will mark only an entente between two Communist states, Moscow and Peiping will agree to maintain non-Communist factions in the Chinese Government for a long time—in contrast to present practices in Eastern European governments.

(2) To prevent the creation of a bloc comparable to the Atlantic Pact between Asia and the US, the Kremlin will offer a series of friendship and non-aggression concordats to a large number of Asiatic powers. First bids will go to India, Indonesia, Iran, while others will later be invited to join. Preparations are being made to induce Australia and New Zealand to participate. The new Chinese regime—as soon as it has acquired greater international recognition—

will seek to sign similar treaties with its neighbors in Asia in order to strengthen its own system of alliances.

(3) USSR diplomats will suggest to the Western powers that both Western and Eastern Germany be neutralized under an international guarantee which, among other things, would ensure that all foreign troops be withdrawn from German soil. The proposed guarantee would not stipulate any similar withdrawal from countries bordering Germany. In short, Russia would still maintain a watchful eye on Germany from the East and the US would do the same thing from the West.

To effectuate this three-sided campaign, Communist parties and sympathizers will step up activities for a world peace offensive. They will try to gain for it widest support along the lines of previous popular-front movements, but will display a more conciliatory attitude toward non-Communists.

A UNW First:

Who's Who in Eastern Europe's Politburos

With Eastern Europe and the Balkans more and more in world news, a UNW special correspondent who has just returned from that area here presents the first complete survey of the mystery-shrouded Politburo members of countries in the Soviet orbit. They control the destinies of 69,000,000 people.

Today's world hierarchy of Stalinist Communism lines up as follows: Joseph Stalin, G. M. Malenkov, Lavrenti Beria—the Big Three of Russia—plus Ana Pauker of Rumania, Mátyás Rákosi of Hungary, Alexander Zawadski of Poland, Rudolf Slansky of Czechoslovakia and Vasil Kolarov of Bulgaria.

These are the leaders who are consolidating the grand alliance around Russia, and who determine the policies of international Communism.

Mao Tze-tung has a special status in this picture. His part is not yet completely integrated into the international apparatus of Communism. For the moment, it is more or less confined to crystallizing Chinese-USSR relations.

The policies determined by the international leadership are carried out by Politburos in each of the five countries under Russian domination.

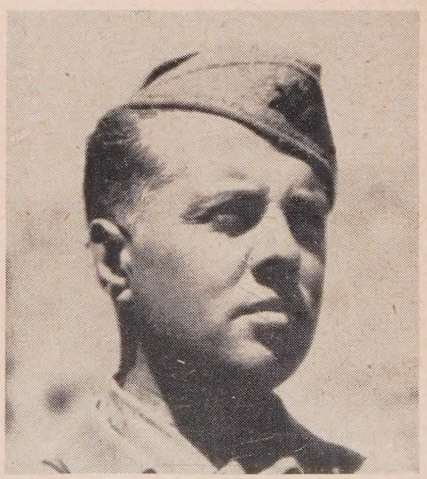
The Politburos of the Eastern European Communist Parties, like their Soviet model, are top policy makers and super-governments. Their members as a rule occupy the highest government positions, although this is not always the case. The post held in the cabinet hierarchy does not necessarily indicate the importance of a Politburo member in the inner council.

While the masters of the USSR have become famous figures to the rest of the world, and even intimate details of their lives have been publicized, most Politburo members in the satellite countries are, with very few exceptions, pretty obscure individuals. Their names as yet are hardly known—although they hold sway over tens of millions of people.

To trace the background of these Politburo members is not always easy. Some emerged from the obscurity of Comintern offices quite recently and had to have new and patriotic childhoods invented for them. They come from various social strata, although most are of working class origin. They include scholars of repute and ex-laborers with little or no formal education. They have spent an impressive number of years in prison. More often than not, they are graduates of political and military institutes in Moscow, where they were kept in cold storage for the day when they might be useful. This is not invariably true of the younger generation of leaders who came to the fore under

ANA PAUKER

MATYAS RAKOSI



ENVER HOXHA

the German occupation in the last war and distinguished themselves in resistance activities. These form, under present conditions, a rather vulnerable group likely to be accused of "nationalist deviationism" and liquidated. *The* most dangerous spot, it seems, in the Politburo hierarchy is that of Number Two—witness the Gomulka case in Poland, the purge of Kostov in Bulgaria, of Xoxe in Albania and Rajk in Hungary.

Former leaders of the underground are not inevitably actual or potential Titoists. But it is true that most deviationists who have been purged to date belonged to the category of resistance fighters rather than to the group of former Comintern agents and trainees imported after the war from the Soviet Union.

Here are thumbnail portraits of key figures in the satellite Politburos, arranged by alphabetical order of their countries:

ALBANIA

Top man *Enver Hoxha*, born 1908, educated in France and Belgium. Engaged in clandestine work for newly created Albanian Communist party while running a modest tobacco store Sentenced to death *in absentia*. Secretary General of the central committee of the Communist Party, 1943. Commander-in-chief, Albanian Army, Prime Minister, also Minister of Foreign Affairs and of War. No direct ties with the Soviet Union in past years, but believed to be devoted to Moscow, as indicated by his stand against Tito in a rather precarious geographic position. Recently has been slowly pushed into background by *Mehmat Shehu*, graduate of an American vocational school in Tirana, member of the Garibaldi corps in the Spanish civil war, leader of wartime resistance in the Valona district. Second in command of the present Albanian army. Shehu spent a year (August 1945-46) at the Frunze military academy in Moscow. Both Hoxha and Shehu had a hand in liquidating Number Two, General *Koci Xoxe*, for "Titoism." The other members of the Albanian Politburo are *Bedri Spahiu, Bekir Balluku, Tuk Jakova, Hysni Kapo, Gogo Nushi, Liri Belishova* and *Sprio Koleka*, all fairly young people of little consequence.

BULGARIA

With the death of *Georgi Dimitrov* and the elimination of Number Two, *Traicho Kostov*, the apparent leader of the Bulgarian Politburo is party veteran *Vasil Kolarov*, but the strong man appears to be Dimitrov's brother-in-law, *Vulko Chervenkov*. Kolarov is the oldest member of the group (born 1877), the son of a cobbler; studied law, joined the left wing of the Social Democratic movement in 1897; Secretary General of the Communist Party, 1919. Agent of the Comintern in a number of countries. Secretary general of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, resident in Moscow until end of the second world war. Another intellectual and senior member is *Dr. Mincho Neichev*, b. 1887, Chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly since December 1947. Spent two years in jail and two years in concentration camps. Vulka Chervenkov studied Marxism in Moscow in 1925. Co-signer of the declaration setting up the Cominform. Chervenkov is one of the three secretaries of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The second is *Georgi Chankov*, a former tailor, graduate of the Lenin academy. The third is *Anton Yugov*, a native of Greek Macedonia. Worker since the age of 14, later professional organizer of trade unions, resided in USSR 1934-36; member of General Staff, Partisan movement 1941-44. *Vladimir Poptomov*, editor-in-chief of the official communist daily *Rabotnichesko Delo* and now Foreign Minister, is an intellectual who came to the Communist movement through the left wing of the Social Democratic Party. Worked closely with Dimitrov in the USSR until 1944. Attended organizational meeting of Cominform in Poland, 1947. There are two *Damyanovs* in the Politburo. *Georgi* is a professional soldier active in revolutionary movements since 1912, assistant to Dimitrov in the Comintern, graduate of Frunze military academy in Moscow (1929), served in Red Army. *Raiko* is a former shoemaker, resided in the USSR 1929-32, again in 193 (Lenin Academy); in Spain an France 1936-39, imprisoned in Bulgaria 1940-43, active in Partisa movements. There is an amazin number of shoemakers and cobbler sons in the Politburos of the satellit countries; Stalin's father was a cob bler, too. *Dobri Terpeshev* is a pea ant's son with three years of forma education, in and out of prison be tween 1923 and 1943, active in th Partisan high command, appointe chief of the uprising of Septembe 1944, negotiated armistice with th USSR. Now top man in economi planning. The list of the Bulgaria Politburo is completed by *Dr. Titk Chernokolev*, son of a civil servan leader of Communist youth movemen in prewar Bulgaria.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Neither President *Klement Gottwal* nor Premier *Antonin Zapotocky* regarded as the high command in th Politburo hierarchy, presumabl headed by *Rudolf Slansky*, Secretar General of the Party and co-signer o the Cominform declaration of 194 An intellectual of middle-class back ground, Slansky fled to Russia afte the Munich agreement, and was a tached to the Partisan general staff i Kiev which directed undergroun activities in Slovakia. Moving to th top, although as yet not officiall listed in the high councils of th Czechoslovak Communist Party is th mysterious personality of *Bedric (Fritz) Geminder-Vltavsky*, officiall in charge of personnel at the Foreig Ministry. He moved upstage only short time ago, allegedly sent fro Moscow to supervise the Czech Com munists. Speaks German better tha Czech. Gottwald is the son of a sma farmer. He was on record as adv cating a specific "Czechoslovak wa to Socialism" in the early postwa period and even voiced the view tha dictatorship of the proletariat is n the only way to socialism. This is no official heresy and may be held again Gottwald if the situation should ca for his removal. Premier Zapotock spent the war years in prison and i

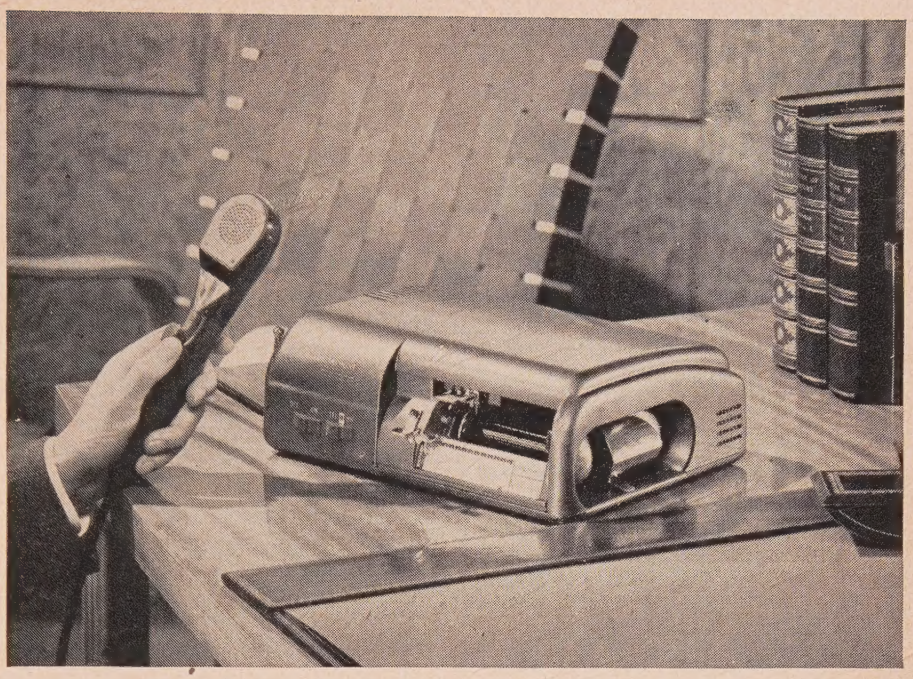
a concentration camp. He is the son of one of the founders of the Czech Social Democracy, worked as a stone cutter; like Gottwald he has no formal education. He bosses the trade union movement with an iron hand despite his mild appearance. Noisy Minister of Information *Vaclav Kopecky*, lawyer and writer connected with the Communist Party since 1921, spent the war years in Russia. His belligerent statements in the early period of National Front honeymoon had to be curbed by Gottwald; he may be considered an unreliable super zealot by Moscow. *Zdenek Fierlinger* led the fusion of the Social Democrats with the Communist Party. During the war he was Czechoslovak ambassador to Moscow and refused to quit although officially recalled by Benes.

Other top members of the Czechoslovak Communist leadership are: *Dr. Jaromir Dolansky*, a former student leader, and *Julius Duris*, son of a shoemaker in Slovakia and responsible for the government's agricultural program. Another Slovak member of the Communist inner circle is *Stefan Bastovansky*, a former railway employee. The oldest member of the group is *Zdenek Nejedly*, a scholar of international standing. Born in 1878, he was not active in politics prior to 1939 when he found refuge in the USSR and was given high honors by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He ordered, as Minister of Education, the placing of Stalin's picture in schools. *Vaclav Nosek*, a miner's son and a miner himself until 1920, has one blot on his record: he spent the war years in London as a member of the Czechoslovak State Council.

No leading Czechoslovak Communists have been purged to date.

HUNGARY

The boss of the Hungarian Communists is *Mátyás Rákosi*, a rock of Stalinist dependability in the turbulent sea of nationalist deviationism. He spent many years in Horthy's prisons and was exchanged for historical flags held in Russia since 1849 when Tsarist armies helped to crush a Hungarian uprising against the Hapsburgs. He returned from Russia with the Red



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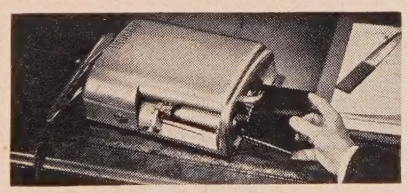

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SOW *continued*

Army. Another leading ex-resident of the USSR is *Mihály Farkas*, ex-printer, signer of the Cominform declaration on behalf of the Hungarian Communist Party. *Ernö Gerö*, crack organizer of Hungarian Communism, spent a few years in prison and then left for Russia. Active in the Spanish Civil War, 1937, member of the Comintern executive, he returned to Hungary with the Red Army in 1944. Party theoretician *József Révai* lived in Moscow in the interwar period, although he returned illegally to Hungary several times. The same is true of *Zoltán Vas*, the Party's leading economist. *István Kossa*, farmer's son with limited education, prewar Social Democrat and streetcar conductor, surrendered to the Russians on the Eastern front and returned as a Communist organizer in 1944. *Imre Nagy* studied Soviet Agriculture in the USSR. He is of peasant origin. *Antal Apró*, Secretary General of the Trade Union Council; *József Harustyák*, leader of the labor unions; and Minister of the Interior *János Kadar* are the other members of the Political Committee of the United Workers Party with former Communist affiliation. The remaining members are former Social Democrats *Arpád Szakasits*, ex-printer, "Chief of State;" planner *Imre Vajda;* foreign trade expert *Sándor Rónai*. As former Socialists, they are by definition likely to be purged as unreliable once their part in gaining the allegiance of the rank and file is finished. It is significant that the only prominent Communist purged in Hungary, *László Rajk*, apparently never was in Russia.

POLAND

The "eleven rulers of Poland," the Politburo of the PZPR, United Workers Party, consists of eight Communists and three former Socialists. *Boleslaw Bierut* is the Polish Chief of State, enjoying Moscow's full confidence. The theoretical brains of the Politburo are *Jakob Berman*, a mild-mannered former newspaperman and a devoted follower of the Kremlin line, and the former miner *Alexander Zawadzki* whose strong personality, Stalinist zeal and organizational talent brought him toward the top in the last year. He is the watchdog of party orthodoxy. Scholarly *Hilary Minc*, an excellent economist and statistician, believes in moving cautiously, so as not to upset the satisfactory but delicate balance of the Polish postwar economy. Chief of Security Police *Radkiewicz*, Poland's miniature Beria, is an old prison habitué. He joined the Red Army early in the war, rose to the rank of colonel, later returned to Poland with the Polish formations attached to Rokossovsky's army. Another police chief, head of the Citizens' Militia, *Franciszek Jozwiak-Witold*, inherited the Politburo seat vacated by the purge of Gomulka. He is of peasant origin and was chief of staff of the underground "People's Army" which competed with the *Armia Krajowa* controlled by the Polish government-in-exile. *Roman Zambrowski* is of working-class origin. He is chief organizer for the Party. *Edward Ochab*, a minor Communist before the war, has been busy organizing and purging the civil service and the cooperative movement.

The two important former Socialist members of the Polish Politburo are Premier *Jozef Cyrankiewicz* and *Henryk Swiatkowski*, Minister of Justice. Cyrankiewicz helped to throttle the independence of the Polish Socialist Party and to merge it with the Communists. He may run into difficulties because of his strongly anti-German views and his un-Spartan living habits. Swiatkowski, a successful lawyer before the war, is trying hard to make up in zeal what he lacks in Marxist-Leninist background.

RUMANIA

The most spectacular member of the Rumanian Politburo is Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Madame *Ana Pauker*, former medical student and fiery strike organizer repeatedly arrested by Rumanian police. She left for Russia after the outlawing of the Rumanian Communist Party (1924) but returned and was imprisoned, escaped, returned again; was sentenced to ten years in prison in 1936 and exchanged by agreement with Moscow in 1941. Member of the Comintern Executive Committee until

its dissolution in 1943, Madame Pauker is believed to be in excellent standing with the Russian Politburo leaders. *Vasile Luca,* a peasant's son from Transylvania, spent his childhood in an orphanage, became a locksmith's apprentice at an early age. A Party member since 1922, he was frequently imprisoned, was a member of the Soviet parliament (Council of Nationalities) from 1940 to 1944 and of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and is now a brigadier general in the Rumanian army. *Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej* was one of the leaders of a railway workers' strike in 1933 and was sentenced to 12 years in prison. He became Secretary General of the "united" party which resulted from the absorption of the Socialists by the Communists. *Teohari Georgescu* played an important part in the purge commission appointed in 1944 to cleanse the administration of collaborationist elements. Active in drives to promote Soviet-Rumanian friendship. *Miron Constantinescu,* a philosophy graduate of the University of Bucharest, was a youth leader since 1936, sentenced to ten years in prison in 1941, released in 1944, and made managing editor of the Party organ *Scanteia. Gheorghe Vasilichi,* ex-worker of peasant origin, was sentenced to twenty years in prison but escaped after a year to the Soviet Union. Fought in Spain, served in the French army in 1939 and was active in the French underground until arrested by the Gestapo and interned at Dachau. Believed in charge of Communist streamlining of education in Rumania. Minister of Defense *Emil Bodnaras* is the son of poor Ukrainian peasants. Deserted to USSR from Rumanian army and returned illegally in 1933. Sentenced to prison, escaped after three years and lived in Moscow until 1944. Member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Considered by Kremlin most reliable.

The Rumanian Politburo also includes *Teodor Iordachescu, Josif Chisinevski, Lotar Radaceanu, Alexander Moghioros, Stefan Voitec* and, as alternate members, *Chivu Stoica* (director of Rumanian railways), *Josif Ranghetz, Vasile Vaida, Mihai Moravu* and *Zaharia Tanase.* The most prominent known purge victim in the highest echelon is intellectual *Lucretiu Patrascanu* who distinguished himself in the interwar period by his courageous defense of Communists, including Ana Pauker.

France Sceptical Of German Democracy

Paris.

"Looting must be systematic and well-organized. The greatest possible amount of the most valuable—but lightest—objects, jewelry, precious metals, etc., must be sent back to Germany. They must be converted into currency to be deposited in safe and inviolable caches. This looting, combined with destruction of factories and machinery, terror, deportations, and scientific starvation of children and of the civilian population, will assure us an early revenge."

The quotation above is taken from a confidential memorandum by Field Marshal von Manstein, dated September 17, 1943. This memorandum, as well as many similar documents and pronouncements by responsible Germans during and after the war, explains the mounting resistance in Europe—and especially in France—to a US-sponsored rebuilding of Germany to its pre-war industrial might.

The truth is that France is unhappy about the outcome of the Paris conference of the three foreign ministers. It is widely repeated in parliamentary circles that Dean Acheson's short visit to Paris was merely a diplomatic screen for the real purpose of his trip to Europe: his meeting and negotiations with the leaders of Western Germany. It is also affirmed that Secretary Acheson wrung the agreement to slow up dismantling of German industries from a very reluctant Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. Very few people in France share the American optimism that a pampered and grateful Germany would become a permanent and trustworthy partner of the West.

French official opinion—reflected,

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SOW *continued*

for instance, in the views of so influential a statesman as Prof. René Cassin, vice-President of France's Supreme Court—is unanimous in the belief that to court Germany as an ally against the USSR is the greatest danger to peace today. (See p. 17.)

It is pointed out that Field Marshal von Manstein was only one of several German generals who foresaw the defeat of the Third Reich as early as June, 1943, and that even then they were drawing up plans for a rapid comeback after a short period of humiliation and doubtful peace.

The French perceive a striking analogy between American interest in Germany today and the years following World War I when the German economy was rebuilt mainly through American financing. Objective observers submit three cogent reasons why the US should not repeat in 1949 the tragic miscalculations of the nineteen-twenties.

1. *If Germany is allowed to stage too rapid an economic recovery, putting it ahead of the rest of Europe, it will be America's first competitor, not only in European markets but everywhere in the world.*

Germany has a large and industrious labor force. Coal and coke are cheap. Iron is practically next door —in Sweden and Lorraine. Its industrial system is the most integrated in the world, and second only to America's. If added to these powerful assets America forges an industrial alliance with Germany by means of liberal licensing and patent policies and especially by investing vast amounts of capital, the US will only create a formidable expansion of the metallurgical, chemical, textile, electrical and automotive industries. Any such move favors a productive giantism hostile to the sound equilibrium of the world.

2. *The proximity of Western Germany to the Soviet zone makes it dangerous for America to bank on Germany.*

Suppose a conflict breaks out between the US and the USSR. In this case, it would appear unreasonable

for the US to count on an industrial apparatus virtually in the front lines. Whether or not use of the atomic bomb is forbidden to all nations, the Western zone of Germany would be open to all possible bombardments.

Without excluding normal peacetime industrial activity on the right bank of the Rhine, the rebirth of a war production potential in that region must be avoided at all costs. Any such war preparation should rather be dispersed and distributed across the American continent, the African continent, and on the European continent's western and southern tips.

3. *Germany can never be a safe and trustworthy ally.*

In the first place, the main preoccupation of the German people will always be that of unification—as the recent proceedings at Bonn have demonstrated. Secondly, the industrialists of the Ruhr have already regained a large part of their former power—within what one hopes someday to call "German democracy." They are swiftly consolidating and extending their power.

So long as they will think it in their interest to treat the US with caution in order to rebuild themselves and especially to regain supremacy in Europe, they will try to allay the very fears they inspire. During the period 1919-1921, the Ruhr industrialists shrewdly played the anti-bolshevik tune, the French imperialistic motif and free enterprise music to be able to borrow a huge amount of capital from the Anglo-Saxon world. But as soon as they felt strong enough to do so, they repudiated their debts public and private, underwrote Hitler's assumption of power and prepared for war.

It is impossible to believe, the French conclude, that German policy as it was followed from 1860 to 1870, from 1900 to 1914, and from 1919 to 1939—and which resulted in three successive wars of expansion—will not continue to dominate Germany's aims and actions in the years ahead.

However, the French deny that they are frozen in a negative attitude. They insist that positive proofs of a successive and true democratization of Germany would radically change the policy of France.

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Our second suggestion includes the preparation of a single page newspaper or "clip-sheet". This method would permit "coverage" of several subjects in each issue with photographs and illustrations.

Editors may reset articles which interest them, and mats of cuts and news items are supplied to newspapers requesting them.

If you are interested in obtaining additional information regarding our suggestions, please write or telephone us and a qualified representative will arrange for an appointment at your convenience. You are under no obligation should you request this service.

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FROM UNW's CALENDAR OF "FIRSTS"

MARCH 1947

■ UNW breaks the news that France has cracked the secret of atomic energy. (Sixteen months later France reveals that its atomic pile, ZOE-1, is in action.) In his famous "Balance Sheet of USSR-US Forces" Adm. Zacharias predicts: no world supremacy for either without war.

JULY 1947

■ At a time when the world press predicts the victory of either De Gaulle or of the Communists, Louis Dolivet reports from France that moderate factions will defeat the extremists. His analysis was to be confirmed not only week-by-week but also from a long-range perspective.

NOVEMBER 1947

■ This was the period when the whole world expected civil war in Italy and a new "March on Rome." UNW publishes an article, "No Revolution in Italy," which states that constitutional forces would win. Half a year later, the results of the elections ratified UNW prediction.

MARCH 1948

■ UNW is first of world press to report the rumblings of discontent inside the Soviet bloc. Mentions George Dimitrov of Bulgaria and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia as proponents of a Balkan policy vetoed by Russia. Two months later Tito breaks with USSR. Dimitrov is dead.

MAY 1948

■ Near East Expert Ladislas Farago presents his "Inside Story of the Palestine Fiasco." He shows how and why British policy must end in a resounding defeat. He also reveals Britain's secret Clayton Plan for the Middle East. Events confirm article throughout next year.

APRIL 1948

■ UNW announces that Moscow is about to reverse its post-war policy of creating constant high tension in world affairs as its main tactic. Six weeks later the world learns that the Soviet Union is ready and willing to achieve a rapprochement and to deal with the West.

In the past UNW has published exclusive articles by:

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Sen. Brien MacMahon
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Eleanor Roosevelt
Bertrand Russell
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Sir Hartley Shawcross
Willard L. Thorp
Juan Trippe
Harold C. Urey
Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg
Thomas J. Watson, Sr.
Sen. Alexander Wiley
Adm. E. M. Zacharias

SEPTEMBER 1948

■ Under the dramatic title "China Turns Against Chiang," UNW forecasts the forthcoming offensive against the regime of the Generalissimo. Disturbed, the Chinese Government prepares to protest at the UN. But UN editors prove their unimpeachable sources. Appeal is dropped.

NOVEMBER 1948

■ This is the period of war jitters and pessimism. International tension reaches new heights. UNITED NATIONS WORLD, however, anticipates the transition from cold war to cold peace: "The cold war becomes a world political struggle and, paradoxically, promises peace."

DECEMBER 1948

■ Herbert Harris, World Business Editor, contradicts general Wall Street and press belief in approaching recession. He declares: "The US business community can look forward to a period of comparative stability and high prosperity during the next 24 months . . . US business is going to be very good indeed."

MAY 1949

■ UNW's State of the World leads off with the following words: "A strange and unexplained phenomenon puzzles the chancellories; it is the ever growing faith in peace amidst ever growing preparations for war." In a few days agreement to lift the Berlin blockade is announced.

JUNE 1949

■ UNW reveals conversations between Gromyko and US businessmen and Kremlin's desire to increase US-Soviet trade. Soon after, US Commerce Secretary Sawyer and USSR President Shvernik stress major importance of expanding trade relations between the two countries.

OCTOBER 1949

■ In this issue, on the news stands on September 26, UNW's famed State of the World carried a feature, "Political Storm Clouds over France" which forecast "the resignation of Premier Queuille before the fall is out." The Queuille cabinet fell on October 5.

12-49

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A New Triumph of the People and of the United Nations

Freedom Over Indonesia

By AMBASSADOR LAMBERTUS N. PALAR

Chief, Indonesian Delegation to the United Nations

THE strife which too long prevailed between Indonesia and the Netherlands must now be replaced by cooperation on a basis of equality and friendship. This writer is convinced that such cooperation will be best served by frankly appraising the problems which still remain to be solved.

The strivings and aspirations and dreams of a people for more than 350 years will be realized when, in the near future, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia is established as an independent and sovereign nation.

It would be hard to find the writer capable of dramatizing the titanic struggles, the countless individual tragedies, the wavering between hope and despair of a whole nation of eighty million people—which were the stepping stones toward Indonesia's freedom.

Colonial administrators, policemen, generals, jailers of all sorts, and even teachers of the colonial power, have tried to thwart the drive toward freedom by devices ranging from cruelty to corruption. But for every one imprisoned, there were ten to continue the fight in his place—until at last liberation was achieved.

The advent of the United Nations, with its philosophy of independence for all peoples of the world, has greatly accelerated the processes of history. To Indonesia the UN has been the living symbol of the new age that marks the end of colonialism. The UN has constantly inspired every one who fought for the independence of my country. The newly-born state of Indonesia was fathered by the resistance movement of the people against the Dutch, and mothered by the UN, with its ever-increasing moral and political influence upon events in Indonesia.

In the new relationship between Indonesians and the Dutch both should bury the past and build the future. Innumerable problems still confront my country. Before discussing them, I must emphatically state that I am writing in my own personal capacity, and that the opinions expressed are my own and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Republic of Indonesia which I represent at the UN, nor of the soon-to-be-founded United States of Indonesia. Normally I would have hesitated to write this article before the definite establishment of the United States of Indonesia, but I did want to

Freedom Over Indonesia *continued*

let Americans and the international public know some of the issues which my country faces. These issues do not affect Indonesia alone. They affect the future of the whole of South East Asia and, therefore, the peace and prosperity of the world.

The agreement signed with the Dutch, for example, contains a point which will be deeply resented by all Indonesians. It is the postponement of the solution of the dispute about Netherlands New Guinea. This means that for one year the Dutch are going to continue to exercise sovereignty over this area, which belongs to Indonesia. To defer this definition of New Guinea's status is apt to increase the unrest already existing, and to encourage radicalism which threatens the government in its efforts to pursue a middle-of-the-road policy.

The economic situation is even more difficult. The new government will function in a country which, while among the richest on earth, has suffered nearly eight years of continuous war. Housing, clothing and feeding the people, communications, trade, and the growth of industry have all been disrupted during this period.

The standard of living under Dutch administration—even when the Dutch and Indonesians were at peace—was extremely low. War and subsequent fighting against the Dutch impoverished the people still further. The most urgent problem of the new government in the economic field will be to secure consumer goods, to obtain machinery to build up a national industry, and to create transportation facilities, which today are practically non-existent.

THIS means that the new government will have to find every sort of help from abroad—especially loans from governments, from international institutions such as the World Bank, and from private investors.

The first country to which Indonesia will look is the United States of America. Whatever form that help may take—whether an extension of the Marshall Plan to Indonesia and South East Asia, or some similar program, it will have to be substantial, to enable democratic forces to maintain the confidence and loyalty of the people.

YOUNGEST INDONESIAN GUERRILLA WAS CAPTURED WITH MACHINE GUN

While Indonesia, like any other country, will want to avoid too large a measure of control over natural resources by foreign investors, the latter can be assured of fair treatment and reasonable profits.

In this respect, Point Four has a very special meaning for Indonesia. But this is a long range program and will take a great deal of time. And Indonesia has no time. It needs aid immediately, preferably along the lines of the help the US has given to the Korean Government.

We are producers of raw materials, many of which comprise an important strategic reserve for the US. The US is right now paying out vast sums for stockpiling. If Indonesia could get $400 or $500 million from the US Government, we could pay it back with materials most needed by the US.

The new Republic of Indonesia needs a great number of experts in all fields. We need economists, administrators, engineers, doctors, teachers, scientists, and technicians. (Of course we have agreed that many Dutch will remain in the Administration on condition that their loyalty be undivided and that they fully accept the obligations of a civil servant in the forthcoming United States of Indonesia. All those who may try—by intrigue, sabotage or otherwise—to destroy the government will be eliminated.) We would like as many American experts as possible, and will give them an opportunity to carve out rewarding careers for themselves in the new nation.

They can do much to help develop our fabulous natural resources which, in many cases, are still untapped. The new United States of Indonesia expects to perform an even more significant role in world trade than ever before. It wants to give access to its vast wealth to commercial interests that seek legitimate profits from industrialization in contrast to those which might try to find some variation on the theme of imperialistic exploitation.

Before World War II, the Dutch dominated the Indonesian economy. There was virtually no opportunity for the business firms of other nations

to compete on an equal basis. As a part of deliberate policy, and under a system of elaborate regulations and restrictions, the Dutch saw to it that 34 per cent of all Indonesian imports came from Holland. The US, for example, which bought $90 million worth of Indonesian products in 1939, was allowed to sell only $36 million worth of goods to Indonesia in that same year. The extent of the Dutch hold on the Indonesian economy is further attested by the fact that Holland itself, which functioned as funnel for Indonesian trade with the hard currency areas, was by this means piling up huge dollar surpluses in its export-import relations with the US. In other words, the former Netherlands Indies provided the Dutch with a surplus of nearly a billion dollars on current account for the 20-year period from 1921 to 1940 inclusive. This tremendous surplus was built up despite the extremely low prices that prevailed on the world market for such Indonesian products as rubber, sugar, tobacco, tea, petroleum, kapok, pepper, palm oil, sisal, copra and the like. Moreover, in terms of capital investment, the Dutch held a virtual monopoly of 75 per cent, the UK having 19 per cent, and the US 3 per cent.

THE United States of Indonesia will invite new foreign capital and technology, particularly from the US, under conditions that will yield substantial profits and, at the same time, steadily raise the living standards of the Indonesian people. The government of the new United States of Indonesia will encourage and protect new capital investment by means of tax, fiscal currency and other policies that will prove mutually advantageous to foreign investors and Indonesians. As the buying power of the 78,000,000 Indonesians rises with the ever-increasing mechanization of our economy, the new United States of Indonesia will contribute to world trade very definitely on the basis of "the two-way street." Not only will it be able to increase immeasurably its traditional exports, but it will also be able to expand its exports of bauxite, tin metal, teak and a long list of other products. At the same time, its import requirements for manufactured goods will continue to rise. At the moment, for example, the pressing top priority needs of the new United States of Indonesia include 5,000 cars, 5,000 trucks with tires, tubes and accessories, together with 20,000 bicycles, and a million and a half tires and tubes, to the approximate value of $20,000,000.

It likewise needs $100,000,000 worth of textiles, $5,000,000 worth of fertilizer, $20,000,000 worth of cotton yarns, and $5,000,000 worth of lubricating oil. It needs chemicals and medicines, paper and school supplies, ball bearings, telephone, telegraph and radio equipment, light bulbs and many other "miscellaneous" commodities, to an approximate value of $20,000,000. In other words, the urgent and immediate import requirements of Indonesia today stand at a minimum of $170,000,000. This estimate does not include heavy mining machinery and factory equipment, structural and pipe steel, asphalt, and almost endless categories of other goods for industrializing Indonesia and bringing its agriculture up to date.

The new United States of Indonesia looks particularly to the United States of America for private and public assistance in helping it to come to age tradewise and technologically.

The basic economic problems of Indonesia can be more readily attacked, now that its major political problems are on the road to solution.

The recent negotiations between the Dutch and Indonesians at the Round Table in The Hague, have taken place in the presence of the United Nations Committee for Indonesia. The result has been a compromise which, while not completely satisfactory from an Indonesian point of view, will be applied by my country with complete good faith. We hope that genuine constructive cooperation between the Dutch and ourselves will emerge. When we were discussing the Indonesian question before the Security Council, the spokesman for the Netherlands was constrained to declare that his country was going to transfer unconditionally to Indonesia *real and complete sovereignty*. As we saw it, the Dutch and ourselves would each be equal partners in the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. It was only on this

THE AUTHOR

assumption that the Republic of Indonesia and the delegations of the other Federalist States of Indonesia went to The Hague.

The Round Table Conference started out on the basis of a working memorandum prepared with UN assistance. It indicated clearly that the aim of the Round Table was to investigate how the transfer of "real and complete sovereignty" could be made.

IN ORDER to get a simple image of the problem before the Round Table Conference, we compared full sovereignty with a dollar. What we were negotiating, we said, was the way in which that one dollar would be transferred to us. Would it be in pennies or quarters, after 10, 20 or 30 days? But the Dutch in effect offered us only sixty cents. Perhaps they wished us to negotiate for a compromise that would, in the final analysis, give us eighty cents, but never a dollar.

We insisted that we get a full dollar—in other words, full sovereignty. We succeeded in making it clear that the new Union could agree to nothing more binding than a Commonwealth relationship.

Finally an agreement was reached, even though many issues—particularly that of New Guinea—remained to be settled.

The role of the United Nations, in concluding our negotiations with the Dutch, was immense. Of course, the Dutch were deeply dissatisfied by the fact that India and Australia brought the whole problem, first before the Security Council and after that before the General Assembly of the UN.

On the other hand, many Indonesians, in spite of the UN's having twice halted "police actions" by the

Freedom Over Indonesia *continued*

Dutch, are a bit angry with it for not having been stronger and more outspoken. There is no doubt that if the Security Council had not twice ordered the cease-fire, the solution would have been made by force of arms. There would have been a prolonged period of slaughter, possibly with hundreds of thousands or even millions of dead. If unchecked, the Dutch-Indonesian conflict could have flared into a new world war. Thus, the role of the UN was invaluable. Its conciliatory efforts, its Good Offices Committee, its UNCI, its prestige have constantly averted disaster.

AT PRESENT the new Union between the Netherlands, the Republic and the United States of Indonesia could work very well. There is still one major obstacle and this is that the Dutch remain a colonial power so long as they stay in New Guinea. While they are still a colonial power future cooperation may be seriously impaired and even endangered. The Dutch argument that their presence can help withstand Bolshevism is completely wrong. If we had had an agreement previously, we would have met the Communist threat ourselves. The position of the Indonesian Government would be consequently strong. Now, despite the success of the Round Table Conference, that problem still plagues us. The radicals will be able to agitate against the presence of the Dutch in New Guinea.

Despite all this, the internal political situation does not worry us too much. We have today a government which draws its strength from an authentic cross section of the population. It is supported by the Moslem Party which, like all religious parties, has a membership comprising different sectors of society. Then we have also the N.N.I., or Nationalist Party, composed of intellectuals, middle-class people and also workers. It considers itself a middle-of-the-road party, though it has socialist planks in its platform. There is likewise the Socialist Party, no longer as influential as before. The Socialist Party has lost influence because the Socialist Party in Holland participated in the government which started the war in Indonesia. Thus the supporters of socialism in Indonesia left the party whose "brothers" turned against them. At the extreme left there are different shades of Communists, Trotskyites, National Communists, etc. There are no known Titoists yet in our country, but it is not impossible that sooner or later a group of them will emerge. As far as the Communist Party is concerned, I am sure the Government of Indonesia will treat it fairly. The Communists will have a right to fight for their ideals, but they must do this in the democratic way. They will have the right to participate in elections, and use the platform as a means of asking people to support them. But they will have to renounce violent methods—otherwise we will crush them as we have done in September 1948. Any illegal action on their part will be severely prosecuted, but their rights will not be curtailed if they abide by the principles of democracy.

The estates of the Princes constitute a certain problem, but one which we are certain to solve by mutual agreement.

Today only those Princes who understand that they must become a part of a democratic system will be able to participate in the Government.

To sum up, this writer believes that despite the setbacks and difficulties of our time, the world will be proud of the great achievements of this generation. India and Pakistan, with their 400 million people, have been set free since the end of World War II. Now Indonesia is gaining her freedom. People in the West are beginning to realize that the whole of South Ea Asia is astir with new promises freedom, and eager to cooperate wi the rest of the world. Its peoples wa to be treated as equals. They want see all vestiges of colonialism di appear.

THE United States of Indonesia wi take its place among the countries South East Asia. It will try to serv as an element of moderation and co ciliation in the great power conflict Instinctively most Indonesians sha the great conciliatory outlook Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru India. We hope that the United Stat and Russia will perceive that war do not pay and that it does not solve an problem. We hope that their great r sources and energy will be fully use for peace, in the interests of the own peoples as well as in the interes of the other peoples of the world.

This will be the attitude of Ind nesia, I think, when it becomes a fu fledged member of the UN. I do ho that all countries will favor the i mediate admission of Indonesi which undoubtedly will present its a plication as soon as the Republic the United States of Indonesia is o ficially constituted. Certainly eve civilized country seeks membersh in the world community and th means membership in the UN. W know that there have been many di culties and conflicts over the admi sion of new members in the past tw years. Yet, in view of the peacef purposes of our country, we belie that all present members of the U irrespective of ideologies, will give an opportunity to use our newly-w independence and freedom in the b interests of our own people and of t world community.

The Republic of the United States of Indonesia is a federation of sixteen states and autonomous areas. These include the Indonesian Republic, the various political units of Borneo and Celebes as well as the other members of the island group which formerly constituted the Dutch East Indies.

The Republic of the U.S.I. and the Netherlands will, in accord with the Hague agreement signed on November 2, 1949, become equal partners in a Dutch-Indonesian Union under the Dutch crown. This Union will in many ways be comparable to the British Commonwealth, since it will be based on a broad general political and economic collaboration.

The behind-the-scenes story
Of how the German right wing,
Betting on the East,
Prepares revenge against the West

New German Blueprint:
War on Russia's Side

By T. H. TETENS

FROM a secure base in Argentina, a group of top German political and intellectual leaders, all brought up on Prof. Karl Haushofer's geopolitical bible, are engaged in shaping a German policy which could threaten the safety of the United States even more than Hitler's drive for world dominion.

Although still lacking authority or official position, these men are the potential leaders of an unreconstructed Germany, rather than Presidents Heuss or Pieck. They are on the way to laying the foundations of the German political thinking of tomorrow. But already their influence upon their fellow Germans has assumed an importance difficult for Americans to understand.

What makes the activities of this clandestine political General Staff so dangerous to the basic interests of the United States and the whole free world is their decision that, in the event of a Third World War, the German people must side with Soviet Russia.

The organ of the group is a monthly called *Der Weg (The Way)*. It is the New Testament of *Realpolitik*. It is the bible of nationalist Germans everywhere. It is also the progeny of Dr. Karl Haushofer's famous *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik*—Journal of Geopolitics, source book for the Nazi drive toward world dominion.

In *Der Weg's* pages, with a frankness which characterized Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, as well as the articles in Haushofer's original *Journal* and similar guidebooks of German strategy, are presented the details of the German plan to fight alongside Russia and the reasons for that decision.

Der Weg is printed in Buenos Aires

THE AUTHOR of this article is an outstanding anti-Nazi authority on geopolitics and pan-Germanism. A Saxon by birth, tall, bluff, blond, nearing 50, Mr. Tetens has been in the United States since 1938. During the war he was employed for highly confidential assignments by the US Government. From 1944 to 1946 he was Director of the Library of Germanic and Related International Problems, a Brookings Institute project. He is the author of *Know Your Enemy* and other works.

War on Russia's Side *continued*

in the Duerer House at Sarmiento 532. An attractive monthly on coated stock, its 80 pages contain many columns of advertising. Its editors are Eberhardt Fritsch and Gustave Friedl. The magazine attracts a galaxy of significant writers and thinkers of strong nationalistic convictions, whether residing abroad, or in Germany and Austria. *Der Weg* was started in July 1947, and became an immediate success among embittered Germans to whom it held out hope for a better—even a grandiose future. Although occupation authorities banned the publication from the American zones of Germany and Austria, it is smuggled into the Fatherland by the thousands.

The chief editorial writer of *Der Weg* hides under the pseudonym "Observator." His articles sum up and express with forceful logic the political decisions which *Der Weg* accepts and promotes. Among the visible pundits of the Buenos Aires group are such stalwarts of German nationalism and aggressive expansionism as the notorious Dr. Colin Ross, one time head of the Nazi propaganda machinery in the United States, Dr. Anton Zischka, Hans Grimm, Dr. Walter Pahl, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Fried, and others. These intellectuals, however, are far from being an isolated assortment of thinkers. In their mansions, hotel suites and clubs, in Buenos Aires, a large and influential clique of South American Germans are engaged in financing and developing the activities of the planners. Among them are the great financiers and industrialists of German extraction who are the big wheels of Argentina's economic life; theoretical economists like Ludwig Freude, Peron's personal adviser; former high ranking Wehrmacht officers now occupying important positions in the Argentine Army; scientists like Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Westphal, outstanding German authority on atomic energy; or ex-Luftwaffe flyers who had escaped from the Allied Armies. Prominent among the latter are General Baumbach, who used to be a top man in the Luftwaffe's training Division; General Adolph Galland, a fighter-pilot with 102 planes to his credit, Col. Thieben and Col. Hans U. Rudel.

Some of the Men Who Plan Germany's New Alliance With Russia

Except for Dr. Colin Ross, the German geopolitical experts listed below are but little known to Americans. But in Germany they enjoy wide reputation and their word is accepted as gospel. It might be said that what these men propose for Germany is the law of the land. The braintrusters named here typify the geopolitical leaders currently blueprinting Germany's future.

DR. COLIN ROSS, German authority on the Western Hemisphere and particularly on the US, best known abroad as the author of *Unser Amerika.* He was a senior member of the Haushofer group of geopoliticians.

PROF. DR. FERDINAND FRIED, author of *The End of Capitalism,* formerly editor and publisher of *Die Tat,* "action" magazine for German youth.

HANS GRIMM, author of *People Without Space.* This book introduced the plea for *Lebensraum,* a concept on which Nazi aggression was based.

HANS MAHLER, former officer in the Wehrmacht high command.

ANTON ZISCHKA, another geopolitical authority, author of numerous works including *East or West, Fight for World Cotton Monopoly, Japan in the World, Italy in the World.*

PROF. DR. WILHELM WESTPHAL, leading German authority on atomic energy.

DR. WALTHER PAHL, author of *The Political Face of the Earth, Storm Centers of World Politics, Air Ranks of the World, Scramble for the World's Raw Materials.*

RUDOLF BINDIG, poet and novelist.

Under the benevolent gaze of Pre ident Peron of Argentina, the ed torial rooms of *Der Weg* have becom the laboratory for a Fourth Reic Here ideas, whether economic, po litical or military are developed, di cussed and with traditional Teutoni efficiency put in the proper files.

When *Der Weg* started in 1947, i program called for collecting data o the comparative strength and wea ness of the Western allies on the on hand, and of the Eastern bloc on th other. The group took the positio that Germany must remain free fro definite commitments to either sid and reserve its allegiance until suc time as the distribution of power i the postwar world is clearly revealed Through their emissaries, the plan ners warned political leaders active i Germany that it was their duty to fo low the same line.

The reversal of that policy came i the summer of 1948. It was at th time that Haushofer's heirs in Arge tina, on the basis of their carefull collected "evidence," deduced th from a showdown between East-We Russia would emerge as the undi puted victor. On this premise th saw only one possible course of a tion: Germany must throw her lot with Russia.

The exiles are convinced that soon as the military occupation Germany is ended, they will be all to return to the Fatherland and tran plant their organization. They a sure that they will be able to ta over the signs and seals of power an put their plans into official operati with popular consent. Meantime, ov and above the visible activity of *D Weg,* Argentina is also the conspir torial cellar where from the Rio de Plata to Patagonia even more extre groups hatch plots for the comeba of a more successful Nazism.

Lest the confidence of *Der Weg's* c cle be dismissed as an exercise collective megalomania, it should recalled that Lenin and a simi band of exiles prepared the bluepri for the Bolshevik Administration from their homeland, and then tra formed their plans into world-shaki reality.

The background for this latest h

oric conspiracy centered in Argentina is furnished by the ardent wooing of Germany by Washington and Moscow.

The long-term occupation of Germany agreed on at Potsdam has been abandoned by both East and West. Neither fears Germany longer—except as an ally of the other. On both sides the men who make the policy are apparently convinced that the trend has turned in their favor.

An objective appraisal of the facts unhappily discloses that on this score the Russians are right and the Americans are wrong. Russia is right because its economy has already profited from the Soviet occupation, and because it has gained German military allegiance of the first magnitude.

America is wrong because its military men and financiers are both sponsors and victims of what Walter Lippmann has called the "Official Mythology" of the US. Briefly, their credo runs something like this:

"Germany is the heart of Europe. To prevent Europe from going communist, we must restore Germany's industry in the West, acquaint her with our democratic way of life, and slowly change German mass thinking, aggressiveness and authoritarian behavior to resemble our individualistic, friendly and democratic behavior. Meanwhile, the increased output of the gigantic Ruhr industries will help to bring the other nations of Europe back onto a sound basis and enable Europe as a whole to resist communism."

In line with this view, America's economic policy in Germany has been to restore "peaceful" industries, providing management guidance and other incentives where necessary.

On the other hand, Russia's economic policy has been to take as reparations, in the form of either goods or transplanted factories, all the German industrial production its soldiers and diplomats could lay hands on.

Russia has already benefited measurably by its control of Eastern Germany and by obtaining goods and machinery from Western Germany.

If the US has failed to forge for itself a dependable German allegiance, and there is nothing to prove that it has, it follows that Russia will eventually benefit by every American dollar, every American machine, every German factory restored or saved from dismantling by American aid. For the chances are that those dollars, machines and factories would be turned against the West in any Third World War.

US military men have been no more successful in Germany than their financial counterparts. It is no secret that their primary concern has been the establishment of a body of hard-fighting German troops, armed and equipped by America to stand between the aggressive Russians and the Rhine.

But the vision of a German army that will fight Russia out of German fondness for America is one of the saddest illusions fostered by the Official Myth. To date no group of staff officers, no army of German fighting men have "gone over" to the U.S. Contrast this with the roster of German military personnel who have lined up with the Russians.

Among the Soviet's outstanding converts are such military notables as Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus, the defeated "hero" of Stalingrad; General Walter von Seydlitz, who organized the Committee of German Officers in Moscow; General Vincenz Muller, commander of the East German "police force" of some 100,000 former Nazi soldiers and officers; Colonel Markgraf, chief of the force in Russian Berlin. Another former colonel, Walter Lehwess-Litzman, who served on Goering's General Staff, is a Communist lecturer and editorial writer, while Dr. Otto Korfes, a former major general, today is the chief of the Central Archives in the Soviet Zone. Where among the "friendly" Germans of the West can one match this evidence of Germans who have chosen sides so unequivocally?

Walter Lippmann has not been alone in seeing through the flimsy, wishful mythology of US administrators in Germany. Ex-Secretary of State Sumner Welles, ex-Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., William Shirer, Edgar Mowrer, Delbert Clark, Drew Middleton have also understood clearly that Germany can still exploit a potential alliance with Russia as a potent diplomatic weapon.

History provides frequent examples of this classic gambit. It was used by Hitler both before and after the Moscow-Berlin Pact was signed in August 1939. And, by the time the Russians had stopped the Nazi advance at Stalingrad, officials of the Wilhelmstrasse and of Dr. Goebbels' propaganda ministry had again begun to harangue foreign correspondents with the Russian threat.

Allen Dulles, wartime OSS chief in Switzerland, reports in his book, *Germany's Underground*, how German peace offers were made "often with a veiled threat that if we refuse to hold out any hope to them (the conservative politicians and generals) they would have no choice but to throw themselves into the arms of Russia."

The significant point was not the threat of alliance with Russia per se, but rather the continuous likelihood of such an alliance.

Even while the war was raging, such threats were not limited to the Nazis. Almost immediately after the

"With the will to victory and faith in Germany." Many of *Der Weg's* pictures glorify militarism and aggressiveness.

War on Russia's Side *continued*

allies had won Germany's unconditional surrender, a new and violent rephrasing of prophecies on eventual Russo-German accord appeared in the United States. Heinrich Hauser, a German newspaperman and refugee anti-Nazi, wrote and Henry Holt published an angry book, *The German Talks Back.*

The book, which became a best-seller in the German neighborhoods of New York, Chicago, Cleveland and St. Paul, explained at length why Hauser and other Germans had only contempt for western democracy and scorn for capitalism—particularly as both were exemplified in the U.S.

It also pointed out that Germans would hate America because:

"Four times we were on the point of winning the war. The first time was after the defeat of France, when we were on the point of forcing Britain to her knees. What saved Britain? Only the American supplies. The second time we almost won the war was when we were knocking at the gates of Moscow and of Stalingrad. What saved the Russians? Only the supplies from America. The third time was when we were about to crash into Egypt and make the Mediterranean a German lake. What saved the British that time? Only the military aid from America. Our fourth and last chance depended on the V-weapons and the atomic bomb which was under development. What spoiled it? The smashing of our industries by the Americans and the American-equipped British."

Hauser has only contempt for the idea that Germany will again become either a capitalist or democratic nation. So long as American aid is forthcoming, he declared, the Germans will take with burning hate as much as they can get—then turn to the East.

Hauser's explanation is that the Germans "must be provided with a dream powerful enough to justify the sacrifice of 8 or 10 million lives," and he adds:

"There is only one great ideology left which as a nation we have not yet tried, which therefore has not yet failed—Communism. If the Germans accept Communism for their new dream and ideology and do it quickly, they will be lifted almost overnight from the status of outcast lepers to the status of allies of the biggest land power on earth. . . . If one has to embrace communism in order to get Lebensraum, what of it?"

This is the voice of German *Realpolitik* speaking through the lips of an anti-Nazi German, and is by no means an isolated case. The temptation of playing both ends against the middle induced even such a staunch anti-Communist as Friedrich Stampfer into using the threat of German-Russian rapprochement. In December, 1944, he published an article in the *Neue Volkszeitung*, New York. He severely criticized the western allies for planning a long-term occupation, demilitarization of Germany and eradication of its war potential.

Typical illustration from *Der Weg* sublimates the German family circle. Motif on mother's brooch is stylized swastika.

Stampfer warned the West that, u less leniency was shown, the Germa would turn to the East. He wrote:

"There is a way out for Germa from total defeat and—we have to s it openly—the western powers a pushing Germany systematically t ward that way. Germany can chan this situation (of defeat) decisive and at once by lining up with t only real power on the Eurasian co tinent, with Russia. . . .

"Germany (even in defeat) c give many things to Russia: the op way to Hamburg and the Rhir trained general staff officers, tec nicians, skilled workers, soldie warships, tanks, bombers and t most modern weapons of destructic . . . (It can) bring about the fir destruction of the French-British b rier, the liquidation of the Briti Empire and the end of West Europe colonial rule. This would mean t establishment of German dominati over Africa. . . ."

Stampfer's bland assumption Russo-German collaboration, togeth with Hauser's bitter anti-Americ prejudices, are natural progeny of ever-recurrent *Realpolitik.*

The need to make Germany secu in the East was the pet idea of Hitle geopolitical adviser, General K Haushofer, along with the ent school of brain-trusters whom trained.

Count Reventlow, an expert Nazi foreign policy, cautioned in book, *National Socialism—the Po ical Philosophy of the 20th Centu* that Germany should never side w the western democracies against t East.

Dr. Goebbels, early in the N regime, wrote to a young Communi "The day will come when nazism a communism will fight side by side decadent powers of the West."

Even the Nazi Party manual 1933 advocated that Germany "by close tieup with Russia . . . free h self in the quickest way from present untenable strategic position

Nor were Haushofer, Hitler a their kind the first to discover value of Russia as a big stick w which to threaten the West. Stre man and Bruening of the Weimar public used it effectively before

rise of nazism, and before them German rulers for 200 years—since the time of Frederick the Great — had practiced a policy of close and friendly cooperation with Russia.

Today the proponents of partnership with the East have on their side the German, or Prussian, national memories that go back through two recent world wars and the Napoleonic conquests to the Seven Years' War. In every case these memories summon forth success for German arms when allied with Russia, but defeat and failure when fighting against Russia.

Today Germany is a headless creature lacking fuehrer or emperor. Hitler is denounced, but chiefly for losing the war. The fact that his great mistake was to attack Russia has had the effect of promoting the Haushofer concepts into articles of faith in Germany. For virtually every German, whether industrialist or worker, an out-of-job general or hungry ex-private, peasant or politician, every one knows that the cardinal rule of the Haushofer School demanded cooperation with Russia.

As a consequence, therefore, the group of Haushofer geopoliticians operating in Argentina represents, in German eyes, a source of irrefutable logic and guidance. Dr. Colin Ross, Prof. Fried, Messrs. Grimm, Mahler, Zischka and the others are accepted throughout Germany as a body of policy shapers who are weighing the evidence of the past and present with scientific objectivity, and are building up a fool-proof national action program for the triumphant Fourth Reich of the future.

Long before the war in Europe ended, military intelligence knew that the brains of Germany was in flight —by air or submarine—often by way of Spain, to South America. There, in Argentina, and to a lesser extent in Brazil, the Haushofer School now flourishes, well-financed with funds shipped out of Germany before VE Day, and also getting generous donations from the pan-Germans who have prospered under General Peron.

The plan evolved by Haushofer's heirs and assigns in geopolitics features elaborate courses of action in case of both peace and war. For peacetime, the basic policy is economic cooperation with Russia. For wartime, the prescription is full-fledged military alliance with Russia.

Germany's cartel-minded industrialists see their western markets taken over by the Atlantic states, chiefly by the US.

They therefore endorse the aim of the Argentine geopolicitians to end the occupation by whatever means, then to restore a united Germany and throw in their lot with Russia. Since they prospered under the totalitarian regime of Hitler, they think they can prosper under the totalitarian regime of Stalin. Their immediate goal in peace is to capture the vast, hungry markets that lie between Riga and Vladivostok—and southward now to Canton.

Every move made by Hitler's former ambassador to Moscow, Rudolf Nadolny, all the unpublicized "conversations" he conducted with political, military and industrial figures in both West and East Germany, have had as their purpose not merely restoration of a united Germany but, even more, the *restoration of a strong Germany which will be able to deal with Russia on a basis of comparative equality.*

Thus there is developing in Germany an unbelievable national front. The Communists in the East and the ultra-nationalists in the West are jointly orienting the dynamic militaristic instincts of the German people toward an alliance with Russia against the West.

The men who are blueprinting Germany's economic future, based on business with Russia and her communist neighbor states, know that their program appeals as much to conservative manufacturers anxious about profits as to beaten militarists yearning for revenge.

Russia, and this is true of every other country in her orbit except Czechoslovakia, needs more than anything else the electrical equipment, the heavy machinery for mine, forest and farm, the light machinery, machine tools, the steel and chemicals which Germany can amply provide.

Again and again in their blueprints, the German planners make clear that, once freedom of action is assured, Germany will begin a furious drive to funnel the necessary goods eastward and to siphon back the grains and metals, the timber, furs, oil and other raw materials from Russia.

This economic program is closely tied in with military considerations. Whatever the arguments that support German eagerness to do business with the East, they are picayune compared with the bitter experience of facing the inexhaustible reserves of Russian troops. But Germany's defeat in the East is not the only reason for the planners to assume that the Russian side will be the winning side in a third world war.

One important reason they cite for certain Russian victory is that Russia has been building its armaments for four postwar years while the US has not. Russia, being totalitarian, they emphasize, can direct her industry and labor force as she chooses. The US, on the other hand, even while stepping up its preparedness program, must also maintain the

(Continued on p. 48)

The cover of *Der Weg*. New life springs from lightning-struck tree on the road leading to brighter future for Germany.

Why Do They Confess?

BUKHARIN

MINDSZENTY

RADEK

RAJK

Seven keys to the mystery of communist trials

And the astounding confessions of guilt

Wrung from bolsheviks and prelates alike.

By EDMOND DEMAITRE

EVER since the Bolshevist trials in 1936, when a stunned world heard the self-incriminating confessions of the leading figures of world-communism, the question "why do they confess" has become one of the major mysteries of modern times. It has baffled the man in the street as well as statesmen, diplomats, psychologists, criminologists, authorities on Russian affairs and experts in pharmacology. They all try to find some kind of explanation for the astounding fact that whenever men are answering charges in a Communist court, they invariably plead guilty without even attempting to invoke extenuating circumstances—not even in the face of a certain death sentence.

The psychological make-up, as well as the social background of these men, has been different. The long list has included authentic heroes like Muralov, sophisticated intellectuals like Zinoviev, brilliant and versatile dialecticians like Radek, sadistic executioners like Yagoda, cool and dignified prelates like Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, and former stool-pigeons like Rajk. On one point, however, all these men seemed to resemble each other: after spending a few weeks or a few months in the cells of the Communist police, they all showed an amazing eagerness to confess their alleged crimes and to admit that they had deliberately and consequently violated the laws. Some of them, as, for instance, Bukharin, not content with having confessed their guilt, went so far in their repentance as to demand that a death-sentence should be passed on them!

To solve the mystery of voluntary confessions, during the past 13 year eight different theories have been ac vanced:

1. The Essex theory: Suggeste by the London *Times* during the Mo cow trials this theory recalls the att tude of the Earl of Essex during h trial in 1601. Essex, who was consi ered one of the best looking men i England, succeeded his father-in-law Leicester, as the official favorite of th 70-year-old Queen Elizabeth. The hi torians are still discussing whethe Essex was the lover or only the *pr tégé* of the Virgin Queen. Cleve ruthless, ambitious and arrogant, E sex obtained the highest favors fro Elizabeth which did not prevent hi from taking part in a plot, aimed her dethronement and probable assa sination. Elizabeth ordered him to

put to death. "Her feelings towards him," says one historian, "were a curious blending of tenderness, maternal protection and lust."

During his trial, the repentant Essex pleaded guilty to all counts and wrote to Mary, Queen of Scots: "I am the vilest of men and had I a hundred lives, they all deserve to be sacrificed for my crime against God and her sovereign Majesty, the Queen."

Basing its conclusions on a thorough analysis of the behavior of Elizabeth's favorite, the Essex theory maintains that a full confession of guilt may be obtained on two conditions. First, the accused must be a believer—a man of deep faith and strong convictions. Second, the investigating authorities must succeed in establishing in the mind of the accused "a conviction of sin"—the conviction that he has acted against higher interests and principles.

In the case of Communists—who are believers without being Christians—it should be relatively simple for specially trained investigators to set in motion a psychological process based on these considerations.

2. The Rubashov theory: So called after the hero of Arthur Koestler's famous novel, *Darkness at Noon.* Koestler doesn't completely reject the Essex theory but he expresses a different opinion as to the methods by which the "establishing of the conviction of sin" is obtained. The Essex theory is based on religious mysticism; the Koestler theory rests on a flawless logic.

After his arrest Rubashov, the protagonist of *Darkness at Noon,* is first subjected to the strongest moral pressure. From his cell he can witness the appalling scene when one of the greatest heroes of the Soviet Union—probably modeled on Muralov—is being ignominiously dragged to the gallows. This constitutes the "process of mellowing" and when it is terminated the interrogation starts. He is first goaded into admitting that he is a convinced, faithful, unflinching Communist. This is accepted as the basic fact in his confession. And now the counterattack is launched. Using all available tricks of dialectics his accusers prove to him that if he *is* devoted to Communism, he should sacrifice his life for the cause. He first refuses, but after some weeks of solitary confinement he wearily surrenders and agrees to confess to anything that his accusers want him to confess!

It is quite possible that this method was used with Cardinal Mindszenty. We may assume, then, that he was first made to declare that he would not hesitate to make any sacrifice for the Church. After that it was proved to him dialectically that as a result of his confession and subsequent disappearance from public life, a truce between the State and the Church could be established.

3. The Adler theory: A former leader of the Second International—who in his youth killed the Austrian Premier Count Stuerghk—Friedrich Adler thought to have discovered in the medieval witch-trials the clue to the mystery of the "spontaneous confessions." Adler believed that with the help of "psychological" treatment the Communist police succeed in creating a state of mind which approximates the ecstasy of those who, during the witch-trials, admitted having met the Devil and having signed a solemn pact with him. Adler quotes actual cases wherein the accused—who knew that such confession could only result in death-sentence—gave a detailed account of how the Devil had been dressed, what he told them, and how he had put his seal on the pact.

This explanation might seem logical if applied to individual cases. It is, however, difficult to comprehend how a whole group of persons could be put collectively into such a state of ecstasy as were those involved in the Communist trials. It should also be recalled that many of those who made spontaneous confessions in Communist courts spoke for several hours, as, for instance, Rakovsky and Krestinsky, former Russian ambassadors in London and Berlin.

4. The Urch theory: A former teacher in Czarist Russia, R.O.G. Urch was arrested during the Bolshevist Revolution and spent several years in Soviet prisons. An expert on Russian affairs, he later published two very successful books, *We Generally Shoot Englishmen* and *The Rabbit King of Russia.* As correspondent of the London *Times* in Riga, Warsaw, and Stockholm, he followed very closely the developments in Russia. His dispatches had been frequently quoted during debates in the House of Commons.

According to Urch, the Soviet method of obtaining "spontaneous confessions" consists in putting the accused in the presence of a man who had been previously tried, had pleaded guilty, was sentenced to death, and was known to have been executed. Urch asserted that mock-executions have frequently been arranged in Russia in order to supply the NKVD with bait for hooking individuals who were to be tried by Soviet Courts. In this connection it is interesting to recall that during the past years American correspondents in Moscow have repeatedly reported rumors purporting that Fannia Kaplan, the woman terrorist who shot Lenin, is still alive.

5. The theory of Hypnotism: The behavior of certain defendants—including Yagoda, the dreaded chief of the Secret Police—who showed a particular eagerness to accuse instead of defending themselves, prompted some observers to seek in hypnotism an explanation for the "spontaneous confession." Experts, including world-famous psychiatrists, have pointed out, however, that hypnotic influence is limited. It certainly cannot determine the actions of an individual many hours after hypnosis.

During the Moscow trials the defendants have all been well aware of the fact that many observers ascribed to hypnosis the avalanche of self-incriminating confessions. Bukharin admitted having read in prison Feuchtwanger's book in which the possibility of hypnosis has been suggested. "But I conducted my own defense in Court from the legal standpoint, too," exclaimed Bukharin, "oriented myself on the spot, argued with the State Prosecutor, and anybody, even a man who has little experience in this branch of medicine, must admit that hypnotism of this kind is altogether impossible." Bukharin may have been wrong on many points when he de-

Why Do They Confess? *continued*

livered his final speech. On this point, however, his opinion was unanimously supported by most psychiatrists.

6. The theory of Drugs: Bukharin denounced with equal vehemence the charge that, in order to extract "spontaneous confessions" from the defendants, the Secret Police administered certain "Tibetan poison" to them. Pharmacology does not know of the existence of such a poison. It knows, however, of scopolamine, fenedrin, benzedrine and actedron, which are strongly related powerful stimulants. When absorbed in small quantities these chemicals produce first a hypertension of the nerves, a sudden elation and a tendency to loquacious outbursts. These symptoms may last for several hours, depending upon the quantity of the stimulant that has been absorbed. The nervous tension is usually followed by a state of semi-collapse, often described as "psychological hangover." The symptoms of the latter include increased impressionability, fear and a considerable reduction in will power.

The stimulants can be administered without the subject being aware of it. Thus the possibility that in the Communist countries such drugs are being used during the "preparatory phases" of the interrogation cannot be altogether ruled out. Such treatment, coinciding with round-the-clock interrogations, during which the accused is placed under klieg lights, is likely to produce a mental state which would greatly reduce the moral or intellectual resistance of the individual. After comparing photographs of Cardinal Mindszenty taken before and after his trial, Dr. Bela Fabian, a former member of the Hungarian Parliament, voiced the opinion that the Cardinal had been drugged with one or the other of the scopolamine products before and during his trial.

That the police of a totalitarian regime do not usually hesitate to use drugs on defendants has been amply evidenced during the memorable Reichstag fire trial in Leipzig. At that trial the chief defendant, the Dutchman van der Lubbe, on whose alleged confession and activity the case against the Communists had rested, appeared in a state of complete physical and psychological collapse. During the whole trial he was unable to answer a single question. He could not even remember his father's name.

It is not impossible that in some cases, at least, the Communists have borrowed the Nazi technique. But it is equally possible that the Nazis borrowed it from the Communists!

7. The Paris theory: Shortly after the Moscow trials a French Communist group, led by the Trotskyite André Ferrat, published a pamphlet entitled *Why Did They Confess?* The group, which called itself *"Que Faire?"* expressed the opinion that the defendants in Moscow remained under the discipline of the Communist Party, which ordered them to sacrifice their lives for the Socialist State. This is a variation of the Rubashov theory, without the latter's psychological and dialectical finesse. According to the *Que Faire* group, the argument followed roughly this line: "Trotskyism has to be smashed. It can only be smashed if it be proved that Trotskyism conspired against the Socialist State. You will prove that such a conspiracy has existed. Then, and then only, Trotskyism can be eradicated. Confess! This is the Party's order."

Historic facts have since demonstrated the weakness of this argument. It is known, for instance, that after the Moscow trial Ordjenokidze intervened personally with Stalin, asking for mercy for Pyatakov. He argued that Pyatakov was the only man who could solve the heavy industry's problems. If incidents had developed as the *Que Faire* group imagined they had, then it is more than probable that Stalin would have granted Ordjenokidze's request. After all, the existence of a conspiracy group had already been proved, and Trotskyism could have been dealt with efficiently without Pyatakov being executed.

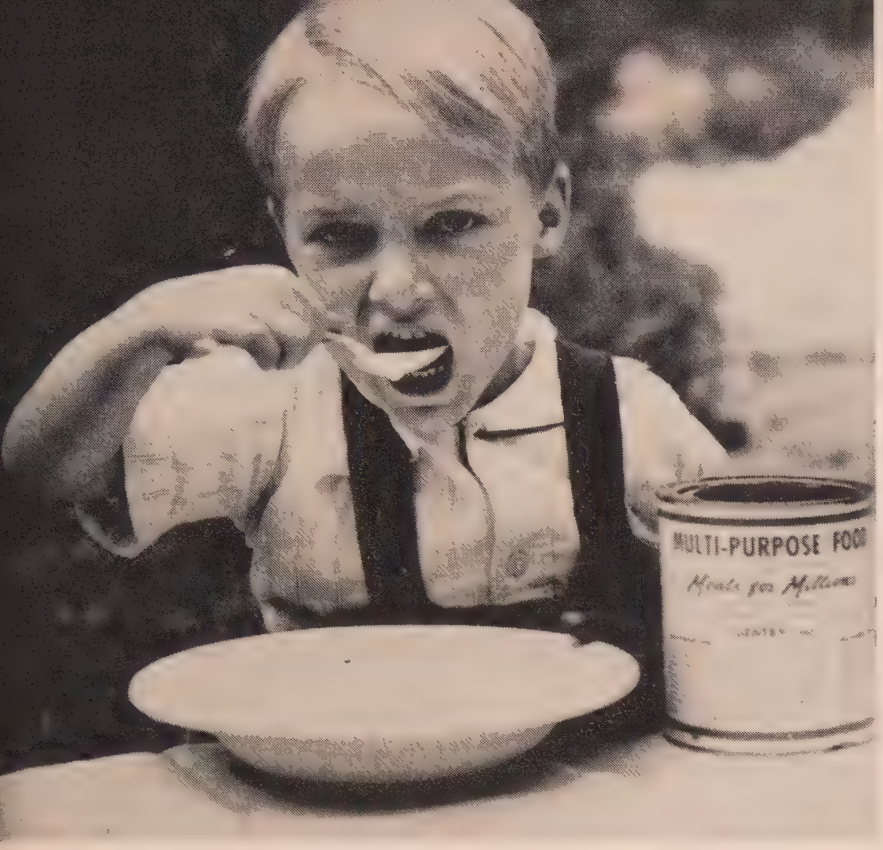
8. The theory of Isolation: A cording to a theory advanced by D Anton Ciliga, a former Yugosl Communist leader who spent sever years in Soviet prisons, the spontan ous confessions result not from psychological but from a moral co lapse. This state is produced by kee ing the prisoner in special cells, call "Isolators." After his arrest, the pri oner is told what kind of a confessio is expected from him. Then he is le alone for days, for weeks, even f months, if necessary. Food is passe to him through a hole in the door. H never hears a word spoken; he nev sees a human face. He is left alo with his thoughts, his fears, and wi a paper which he is ordered to sig

Dr. Ciliga says that fellow priso ers told him that after spending a fe weeks in the "Isolator" they sign whatever "confession" was put befo them. The signed confession was th shown to another prisoner whom incriminated. This second prisoner turn confessed, and so it went on u til everybody had "confessed."

In his brilliant novel, *The Roy Game,* Stefan Zweig has depicted t devastating effects of isolation on t human mind. Hans Frietzsche, Goe bels' former henchman who was pr oner of the Russians before bei brought to trial in Nurenberg, al vividly describes the effects of t "Isolators." His testimony, corrob rating Dr. Ciliga's, proves that t system of "Isolators" is still bei used in Communist countries.

Out of the welter of all these co tradictory theories one fact emerge *Nobody has ever had an opportun to interview a defendant after pleaded guilty and had been se tenced by a Communist court.* T psychological and physical prelude the confessions thus remains a matt of speculation.

A possible explanation can found, however, if, instead of aski *"Why* do they confess at their trials we ask *"Who* are brought to trial Here is an answer which seems logi in the light of past happenings. Communist states only those a brought to trial who previously ag to plead guilty; the others are n brought to trial at all!



In Germany this youngster's diet is supplemented by the Multi-Purpose Food.

CLIFFORD E. CLINTON

Mr. Clinton Stops Starvation

By PEARL BUCK

By inventing a 3-cent meal, a Californian spearheads man's fight against hunger

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It was H. G. Wells, I think, who said that all the world's progress, throughout human history, has come from the work done by strangely few persons. An extreme statement, perhaps, and yet, in a Wellsian way, it is true. Again and again in time, as we have measured it over the centuries, individuals appear who have the priceless gifts first of vision and then of energy to accomplish what they see ought to be done. Without this energy the vision is useless, and without the vision the energy is dangerous, but in combination the result is a sort of genius.

Of such persons the United States has had its share, not surely because of any virtue in us above other peoples, but because land space and the age into which we have been born have allowed the individual of vision and energy to express his ability. How long this fortunate age can continue who knows, but there still exist among us such individuals and they will perhaps continue for a while longer, if catastrophe can be avoided. They are not usually our most famous persons. They are not often statesmen, they are never diplomats and very rarely indeed are they great industrialists. They are not to be classified.

Mr. Clinton Stops Starvation *continued*

One such was born in Berkeley, California, in the year 1900, a baby boy. His name was Clifford Clinton. He was an American child, the eldest of nine children, a descendant, indeed, of Governor DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York a century ago and builder of the Erie Canal. His mother, Gertrude Hall, was one of the early philanthropists of Los Angeles. His father established the first cafeteria in San Francisco. Both were captains in the Salvation Army. The Clintons took their Christianity seriously, and in this atmosphere of vision and energy the child grew. Their business prospered and they took a generous amount of the profits and spent it in a way entirely natural to them. They went to China and set up their personal mission work there. Twice their business in California was destroyed, once in the great earthquake, and twice they went back and rebuilt, and then returned to China.

That eldest child, whom they named Clifford, saw abundance and starvation. He saw fine foods served to well-to-do people and he saw bread given to famine-stricken refugees. He went to school, both in America and in China. In the middle of his high school life in America his mother died and he left school and went into the restaurant business with his father. After this the facts of his life read like the typical success story. It would make a wonderful motion picture—up to a point. At eighteen, when the first world war began, Clifford volunteered and served as a tank gunner in France. After the war he came back to his father's business, was made a manager, married a pretty girl, and had three children. By the time he was twenty-five he was manager of all six of his father's flourishing cafeterias. Two years later, with two of his relatives he bought his father out and set up his own company, The Clinton Co., Inc.

Now we reach the point which makes Clifford Clinton something unique among men, even among Americans. He had never forgotten the famine refugees in China. He remembered that once when his father had bandaged a dying old man's ulcers with a bread poultice, the starving relatives had eaten the poultice before the old man died. He had seen refugees eat grass, worms, earth, and every scrap of leaf and root which in America would have been thrown into the garbage pail. He learned to abhor waste, and today at *Clifton's*, waste is the high crime. Clifford Clinton became a specialist in eliminating food waste and in operating restaurants at low cost. This has not only been useful in his own business but the whole restaurant business has profited from his knowledge, not to mention such local institutions as The General Hospital in his hometown of Los Angeles, and such larger organizations as the United States Army.

THE extraordinary thing about Clinton is not his efficiency or his energy or even his success, for today Clifford Clinton must be called a successful man. The marvel is that all this success has been achieved in the most impractical and even preposterous fashion. Clinton believes in the Golden Rule to such an extent that he actually practices it. He has only one measuring stick for everything, man or cause, and it is his own judgment as to whether it is right. "He has never been afraid to be caught in a good cause with anybody, red, reactionary, socially elite or socially declasse" a friend says about him. His front door is never locked. Anybody can walk in at any time and talk with the Clintons. When he began to apply the Golden Rule to his home town politics, he got his facts straight and then he slugged away at corruption. Facts are always his ammunition. In Los Angeles he offered to pay a thousand dollars to anyone who could prove his charges wrong. It is not recorded that anyone ever got his money.

The maddest thing I have not told. He did actually apply the Golden Rule to his own money-making business. In 1931 when he opened his Pacific Seas Cafeteria, *Clifton's*, in Los Angeles, a motto was printed on each meal check. It read: "Regardless of the amount of this check our cashier will cheerfully accept whatever you wish to pay or you may dine free."

In spite of prophesies of failure the cafeteria prospered and this although more than half of American eating establishments normally fail in their first year. More than 100,000,000 meals have been served under this policy and more than 4,000,000 guests have paid what they could or dined free. Approximately 1% of the guests "pay what they wish," that is less or more (usually less) than their check. Those who "dine free unless delighted"—that is, pay nothing at all constitute about 1/10th of 1%. And those who come under the policy "none need go hungry for lack of funds" are provided with the 5¢ meal of Multi-Purpose Food with a Vitamin C chocolate cookie. *Clifton's* has continued to prosper.

He applied the Golden Rule still further. Anybody could eat at his restaurants. There was to be no discrimination. In California, as elsewhere in the United States, most eating places do not dare to allow Negroes, Mexicans, and others of color to enter. It is considered bad for business. I was disgusted enough when I was last in Los Angeles to see that the Chinese restaurant keepers, who certainly know better, were following the lines of American prejudice. I protested to the Chinese consul and he said they did it because they were afraid of losing business. More shame to them, said I, when Clinton serves everybody and his business grows. Of course Clinton gets criticism, but he welcomes letters of criticism, and a typical letter runs as follows, "I have always liked Clifton's . . . but yesterday, while having lunch two Negroes came and sat at my table. . . . After that the food tasted like sawdust. I will hereafter go elsewhere."

Clinton printed the letter in his weekly bulletin, *Food for Thot* in a column, GUESTS VOICE, and ended his reply by saying, "It is our duty to serve all who enter our doors and conduct themselves within their legal rights. . . . This is our policy. We

survive or perish according to which point of view has the greatest appeal to the people. Somehow we have faith in the people."

Clifton's continues to prosper.

The trouble with the Golden Rule, of course, is that when it is practised it is devastating in its effect upon the normal average community. It becomes atomic in its chain reactions.

Thus, Clinton, who had no political ambitions, found himself drawn into the political life of his community. His absurd but entirely successful business policies drew the attention of a Los Angeles County supervisor, John Anson Ford, an honest man, who was struggling with charges of graft, intrigue and extravagance then being leveled at the General Hospital. Clinton was called in and unearthed scandals and wastage, among which was a food wastage of $200,000 a year. The hospital budget was cut by $120,000.

Suddenly *Clifton's* began to suffer mysterious misfortunes. The newspapers made fun of Clifford Clinton, his taxes were unaccountably raised $6,900 a year, stink bombs exploded in his restaurants, professional "floppers" fell on the stairs and sued him for damages, food poisoning suits were brought. Clinton found himself involved in a million dollars worth of law suits—none of which ever came to trial. He put up signs in his restaurants cautioning his guests. A few went away, but many others came to him. The fight was on.

Meanwhile County Supervisor Ford recommended Clinton for the County Grand Jury Panel and he was subpoenaed for service. He was ignorant of his duties but when he was told it was a way of serving his community, he went.

He took his duties with horrifying seriousness. His belief in the Golden Rule was adamant. The result was the revelation of graft and crime to an extent that resulted in a political upheaval. Clinton spent more than $100,000 of his own funds in getting the mayor recalled and in electing a new city council, enduring all the while attacks and smears from enraged profiteers. When all was over, grateful good citizens presented him with a scroll of appreciation which thanked him for the "extraordinary service you have rendered to our city on behalf of good government. You have helped to keep inviolate the foundations on which our priceless democracy is built."

Leading Navajo Medicine Man watches Senior Dietitian Velma Cranfill of the College of Medical Evangelists, Lima Linda, California, demonstrate the preparation of the MPF.

Meanwhile Clifton's continued to prosper. There are always more good people than bad anywhere in the world, and it is a pity that the good do not always know their strength.

When Pearl Harbor came soon after all this, Clinton and his two sons entered at once into the service. His special talents in mass feeding were put to work and he was able to find shortcuts which made it possible to serve six hundred men in eight minutes. Among the minor but pleasant things he did incidentally was to persuade the authorities to allow the GI's to smoke at mess, and he managed to put flowers on the tables and to place about the hall singing canaries in cages, a piano and a juke box, to have special midnight meals for the night watch, birthday cakes, cookie jars, always ready for reaching hands, pictures on the walls, gay curtains at the windows, and—very important indeed—special chef's dishes, garnished with sauces and decorations. As usual, he installed a suggestion box, to receive criticisms.

All this resulted in Clinton being invited to Washington. He was a First Lieutenant and he was offered a colonelcy. This he declined because he said he thought he could accomplish more as a civilian. When the war was over and UNRRA needed him no longer he went home to Los Angeles and back to business.

Clifford Clinton is one of the world's greatest dreamers. He is a passionate idealist, a Christian so unique that he really believes it is possible to practice his faith literally. His restaurants are designed to feed the soul as well as the body. What makes him different from other dreamers and idealists is that he succeeds. His "Dine-free-unless-delighted" policy, an extension of his Pay-as-you-wish, allows guests to pay nothing unless they have enjoyed their dinner. Between ten and twenty guests take advantage of this every day—the normal number in any restaurant who do not get good service. About ten times that number ask a reduction on some item which did not please them. On the other hand, some guests are so pleased that they pay more than their bills demand. It all

Mr. Clinton Stops Starvation *continued*

sounds unbelievable, but it is true.

One of Clifford Clinton's dreams is to see that everybody in the world is well fed and well nourished. It is also the dream of all sorts of organizations, including the United Nations. But Clinton set right to work as soon as he dreamed. Not satisfied with giving free meals to the hungry, he devised a five-cent meal, and then when this proved successful, he worked on a three-cent meal. This took some thinking. He enlisted the interest of a first-rate scientist, Dr. Henry Borsook, of the California Institute of Technology, who volunteered his services, to help. Dr. Borsook took the soybean, that prime source of protein for so many millions in Asia, and from it he developed by very simple means a food which when produced in quantity costs only three cents for a hearty and nourishing meal. Clinton is never satisfied with mere nourishment, however. He believed that food should be enjoyed, and Dr. Borsook agreed. So he engaged the interest of an expert, Madame Soulange Berczeller, to season his three-cent meal.

When the new food was ready, it was tried in various ways on the guests at the cafeteria and was pronounced good. It was very valuable indeed during the days of meat rationing and of the greatest use in keeping down costs.

To extend its values to a hungry world, Clifford Clinton set up, in 1946, the non-profit Meals for Millions Foundation, "dedicated to the prevention of starvation." He and a few of his business associates each pledged $10,000 to launch the Foundation. Headquarters were donated at 648 South Broadway in Los Angeles. The American people were invited to participate through contributions and memberships in a novel social experiment to demonstrate that science has devised a means to feed a hungry world from existing unused resources at an amazingly low cost. Multi-Purpose Food was merely the first example of what can be done.

From all walks of life, men, women and children responded to the appeal that "Three cents buys a meal." Their gifts and membership fees have made it possible to distribute more than 15,000,000 meals of Multi-Purpose Food through relief agencies operating in more than 60 countries. Impressive evidence is accumulating as to its exceptional nutritional values and acceptability in these countries.

Every dollar contributed for Multi-Purpose Food provides thirty-three meals to a relief agency. Memberships from $3.00 up help to finance research projects for furnishing shortage areas with the "know-how and show-how" to develop their own variations of Multi-Purpose Food.

In providing famine relief the Foundation does more than just give hungry people food, important though that may be. Relief is merely a preface to a program of famine prevention. By introducing this new food, a new way of thinking about food, a new interest in methods of developing comparable foods in each country is brought about.

Clifford Clinton has done many extraordinary things but the production of the Multi-Purpose Food is the most timely and the most significant at this stage of world history. It is being used but it should be used far more widely as a supplementary food. It does not answer the whole need of the world's hungry, of course. Nothing short of a sensibly organized distribution of the world's food supply and improvement in world agriculture can do that. But Multi-Purpose Food does serve as the most important aid now known to those who have not enough to eat and these, alas! are many millions of people. The refugees from war and famine in China, the almost universally undernourished population of India, the underfed in any country, including millions in the United States, particularly in our low income groups in the South and elsewhere, should be using Multi-Purpose Food as a booster in their ordinary dishes. Its flavor does not detract from that of any dish with which it is used, but blends in a remarkabl way. The only nutritive essential i lacks is Vitamin C, which is unstabl when cooked, and which can be sup plemented with any green leafy vege table or fruit. The "one-meal" unit o two ounces of MPF is also slightl deficient in calories which are pro vided by practically all foods eate with MPF.

The daring dreamers of huma history have always been our saviors Time and again a few men and wom en have done the impossible. I pre sent to you Clifford Clinton, as on of these. His dreams have gon farther perhaps than those of an other one person of our time, for h dreams of a world well fed, wel nourished, where there shall be n hungry child, no begging bowl, n old dying of starvation. A might dream—but he has devised a mean of hastening the day of its fulfillmen in this protein food, a meal whic can be eaten for three cents, a sourc of nourishment which can be adde to a stew of grass and leaves, of bar and earth, the common brew of th starving, and which makes it thereb a real meal, sufficient not only t sustain life but to nourish the huma body. It is a protein which can b added to water and fed to a bab who would otherwise die, which eaten with bread or rice provides th values of meat for people who ca never eat meat.

While the great plans develop slow ly for eventual feeding of all th world's peoples, millions starve. On man, a slight, sandy, plain-lookin fellow, has stepped into the breach and has produced a food which ca be a stop-gap, an aid, a meantim salvation, for those who will other wise die. That he happens to be a American is not important. He woul be the last to care even that his nam be known, so long as his Multi-Pur pose Food reaches the hungry—i time to save them.

With 80% of the world's popula tion so hungry that it constitutes daily threat to our democratic wa of life, and a block to world recov ery, Clinton believes it is good busi ness as well as good democracy t provide such self-help.

Uniformed Sylvette recuperating in a Swiss hospital.

La Sylvette—

Madame the Mayor

A blonde heiress continues her resistance work—
This time against misery in her ancestral village

In front of the Town Hall. At left the Game Warden.

By BLAKE CLARK

SYLVIA DE BERTIER, a blonde, blue-eyed Alsace-Lorraine girl, four years ago became France's youngest mayor without even knowing who had put her up as a candidate. Her authority is in Manom, a town of 1,800 in the heart of the iron country on the sparkling river Moselle near the Luxembourg border. An heiress, the only daughter of the Countess de Bertier de Sauvigny and already chatelaine of her own 17th century chateau with 2,400 acres of farmlands and forest, Mademoiselle de Bertier was elected decisively in 1945 and reelected unopposed two years later. Her popularity is due to her magnificent job of restoring to vigorous health a community thoroughly demoralized by war.

When the German invasion in 1940 forced Mlle. Sylvia de Bertier and her mother to get out, she was a 20-year-old college sophomore, engaged to a cadet at St. Cyr, the French military academy. One week later her fiancé was killed in action and Sylvia was on her way to Brittany. There she worked with the underground. Called "Miss Maquis" by American fliers whom she helped escape to Spain, and decorated by General Patton for her work as a liaison officer in the French army, she returned to Manom a heroine in October 1945.

Elections were on and to Sylvia's surprise her own name was prominent on every party's list of candidates. But why not? Her father had been a Senator and Manom's first French mayor after its return from the Germans in 1918. Her elder brother had been expected to carry on, but now he too was dead: it was

La Sylvette, Madame the Mayor *continued*

up to her to take on the responsibility.

She faced a tough situation. The people of this border town were starved and desperate. Pallid, sunken-faced children were so unnerved from shellings that they screamed at the slamming of a door. Land mines strewn over hundreds of acres on both banks of the river had made a crop impossible; farmers and workmen were in prison camps; cattle had been stolen or killed; extremists among the liberators had been as severe as the Germans in accusing, imprisoning and executing.

SYLVIA had hardly taken the oath of office before exhausted and bitter townspeople poured in denouncing each other as traitors, Nazis, spies and thieves. She hear first a big man in stained grey overalls, who claimed that his next-door neighbor had sent two Frenchmen to their deaths; he should be shot. Investigating, Sylvia learned that the neighbor owned a house full of furniture which his accuser expected to take over after the execution. After that she either firmly dismissed denouncers or faced them with the accused. She made it clear that she was wiping the messy slate clean, forgetting the past and thinking only of improving the general condition in the future.

Her budget ledger showed that for the first nine months the town could expect only $3,400 revenue, not enough to rebuild half a mile of road. She prorated the paltry sum among schoolteachers, police and other indispensable city employes.

Ignoring the empty purse, she started her first project: getting farms and gardens into production. Calling on the army for German prisoners of war, she assigned them the task of clearing the land of mines. In exchange for their promise not to attempt escape, she billeted them in village homes, let them go to the church, the pubs and dance hall where they mixed freely with the people.

Germans had driven away most of the horses. Because tools were scarce, the government would not permit an individual to buy farm machinery. Organizing a cooperative of the chief landholders, Sylvia applied to the Ministry of Agriculture for a tractor. Notified that they could have a "Farmall" 50 miles distant, she dispatched a driver to fetch it.

Ready to plow, the people had nothing to plant. During months of famine, they had eaten even their seed potatoes, the chief crop. So the members of the cooperative dug into their pockets to order 100,000 francs worth from Brittany. After anxiously waiting for months Sylvia learned that the mayor of a town along the tracks had stopped the train and appropriated them. It was spring before a neighboring labor union could help them pull enough strings to stock 10,000 pounds of Government-obtained potatoes in Sylvia's cellar, from which they were doled out at the rate of three sacks per acre.

Farmers then plowed not only their own acres but the kitchen gardens of all the villagers. The well-treated prisoners of war stayed on to work for the farmers. By pitching in and helping each other, for the first time in two years all Manom's families got a crop in the ground.

SYLVIA's mother, passing an abandoned farm several miles outside Manom, recognized her own threshing machine, expropriated by the Germans in 1940 and now rusting in the stubble-grown field. She sent a farm hand to its rescue and turned it over to the cooperative, which lent it for a small fee to anyone who needed it. With money gained from renting the thresher, the tractor and a number of sprayers left by retreating Germans, they bought plows, harrows and discs. Soon the rolling hills of the Moselle Valley were flung with long carpets of green clover and yellow wheat.

The first snow fell in November and caught Manom children almost barefooted. The Germans had confiscated all leather; rationing now limited each person to one pair of shoes a year. Sylvia remembered the wooden clogs she had seen worn as protection against the mud of Brittany. She wrote to Breton friends, asking for discarded pairs and fo any new ones they could spare. Soo 300 pairs of wooden-clod feet wer sliding along Manom's rocky roads

No sooner was one problem settle than another struck. This time it wa catastrophe among the dairy herds A disease causing miscarriage seize the few cattle left in the neighborhoo and spread to stock brought in fro Holland. In the winter of 1945-4 hardly a calf was born. The only mil to be had was what could be obtaine from the already overtaxed American Red Cross. Conferring with a live stock expert, Sylvia and her neigh bors were advised to inseminate thei cows artificially, a practice then un heard-of in this section of the country The new method was tried and almos immediately the plague disappeared

An American movie provided Syl via with the inspiration for one o her best projects. For a fleeting in stant on the screen she saw a bus picking up children in the country and bringing them into school. The north Alsace-Lorraine winter plunges to 20 degrees and more below zero with three to four months of heavy snow. Many children inevitably missed weeks of school.

François Schneider, a factory work er, was the answer. He had a broken down bus in his barn. Sylvia guaran teed him the funds for its repair by hiring him as driver on commission For gasoline, insurance and nine dol lars a month, snow chains rattling, h took 18 to 25 children to and fro school every day. In between and aft er these trips he developed a profit able business transporting farmer and factory workers. By this happy arrangement public service and pri vate enterprise gave each other boost.

HOT lunches for the school childre were next on Sylvia's agenda. It wa more than she could stand to see th pitifully small portions of bread an meat which often were all tha served for a midday meal. Alread underfed, the children were growin thinner by the month. With a rang installed before the war for a hom economics class, with pots and pan donated by *L' Entr'Aide Française*, French relief organization, and wit

a cook who gave her services for six dollars a month, the health-building meals began. Canned milk, baked beans, rice and sugar came from the American Red Cross and US troops. As crops came in and conditions improved, farmers contributed potatoes, children brought their own bread and the teaching Sisters provided vegetables from their garden. Each child made a token payment of five francs per meal so that his lunch was not something for nothing.

Mothers of infants came every day to the mayor's office to complain of the lack of milk. Their babies' stomaches were swelling with malnutrition and their spindly shanks curving from lack of calcium. Sylvia's mother, a tiny, platinum-haired woman who moves like quicksilver, obtained emergency rations of dried and canned milk from the Red Cross. Then, writing letters, telephoning and making trips to Paris to cut red tape, she gained permission to use the vacated law courts building in nearby Thionville as a feeding center for that city and its suburbs, including Manom.

Christened "A Drop of Milk," it became a full-fledged, modern prenatal and baby clinic. Expectant mothers came for examination and advice. Afterward a doctor examined each infant once a week and prescribed its individual formula, which was scientifically prepared and bottled each morning at the clinic.

Each family paid less than 10 cents a day for the service. The Red Cross and other local organizations supplied the pasteurizer, bottle washer, drier and capper. Doctors received a small hourly fee from the state. Sylvia's herd provided the free milk. Results were so apparent after the first year that the national "family allocation" service agreed to underwrite half the costs on the ground that such expert attention reduces illness and death.

With an eye to rebuilding young bodies, M. Genevaux, Manom's indefatigable schoolmaster, drew up plans for a new sports field. It includes a ball field, a plateau for rhythmic exercises, a girls' playing field and trapeze swings and ladders. Sylvia gave the land and the soccer players wielded hoes and trundled rock-filled wheelbarrows so that play could begin last fall.

Only seven homes in Manom enjoy the luxury of a bathtub. Sylvia last year restored the institution of public baths, building them in the boys' school next door to the mayor's office. Now the two days when the baths are open are the most hilarious of the week in Manom, and people from neighboring villages ride over on the bus to enjoy the baths.

The mayor and the people of Manom are using their energies to make their village not only livable but attractive. Bringing in truckloads of slag from the steel mills, they patched the streets torn up by tank treads. Now it is a rule that each family sweeps from the doorstep to the middle of the street every Wednesday and Saturday.

Pooling a token war reparations payment of $1,100 received from the government with local tax revenue, the townspeople purchased a large enclosed delivery truck which doubles as ambulance and fire engine. It is manned by an enthusiastic team of volunteers, who schedule their time so that at least six are on call at all hours of the day or night. During the unprecedented flood of 1948, they rescued families from water-filled homes and carried milk, bread and medicine to those marooned in upstairs rooms.

Sylvia serves without a salary. She sees to the upkeep of the streets, sewers, waterworks, school, church and fire house, registers births and deaths, officiates at civil weddings and confers with the town council consisting of 17 men, most of them former friends of her father.

Continually on the alert for ways to make life better in her beloved Manom, last fall Sylvia started a homemakers' class for girls. Too many young married working women, she feels, have not had a chance to learn to cook well and keep house efficiently.

Her vision for the future includes a kindergarten, a town hall and public gardens overlooking the Moselle.

Speak to the Mayor of politics and she shrugs her shoulders. "I'm an independent," she says. "Parties don't interest me. Talk to me about schools, canteens, dispensaries and things that help with reconstruction." A boy whom she spanked for tearing a poster off the public bulletin board sobbed, "I did it to please you and the priest. It's a Communist poster." Suppressing a sympathetic smile, Sylvia told him that in Manom there must always be room for every party to make itself heard.

Her chief concern for the immediate future is getting some 50 boys from her village back from Russia. Drafted by the Germans, they fell into Russian hands at the end of the war. While other allies turned such men over to the French Army, the Russians whisked them away and the whereabouts of most are unknown.

Although forced by the strain of overwork to convalesce for several months of 1947 in a Swiss hospital, Sylvia finds a satisfying reward in the affectionate regard of her friends in the village. Within their own homes their speak of her fondly as "*La Sylvette*" — "Little Sylvia" — but at her office they call her "Madame The Mayor." Women bringing her their problems begin with, "Madame the mayor, my husband said, 'Ask Sylvette.' . . ."

Here is a young woman who could spend her winters in Paris, her summers on the Riviera and most of her waking hours shopping at expensive couturiers and jewelry salons. Instead, she chooses to make her home among iron workers and farm hands. To her the coal-dust-covered man having a glass of wine in the pub is not merely the grimy weekday workman; he is Louis Marion, volunteer fireman who plays the trumpet, sings folk songs and regularly attends the parish church. The dirt-caked Italian showing broken teeth in a wide smile is not an ignorant foreigner; he is a plucky newcomer who with his own hands built a home for his family, wept as he saw it washed away in the flood and immediately set about to construct another on higher ground. These people she respects and admires. To her it is a deep and lasting satisfaction to work with them to build a better Manom. And better Manoms make a better France.

The Great Jubilee

All roads lead to Rome in 1950

As millions of pilgrims and tourists prepare to celebrate the Holy Year

By TIBOR KOEVES

On Christmas Eve, wearing a brocaded cape and crowned with a miter, surrounded by a stately procession of Cardinals, high prelates, bishops, abbots, chamberlains, Noble Guards, Swiss Guards and other officials and attendants attired in colorful, traditional garb, Pope Pius XII will advance to the walled-in Holy Door at St. Peter's. Raising a silver hammer, His Holiness will strike the portal and intone "*Aperite mihi portas justitiae . . .*" And with the words "Open unto me the Gates of Justice" the 25th Jubilee of the Roman Catholic Church will have begun.

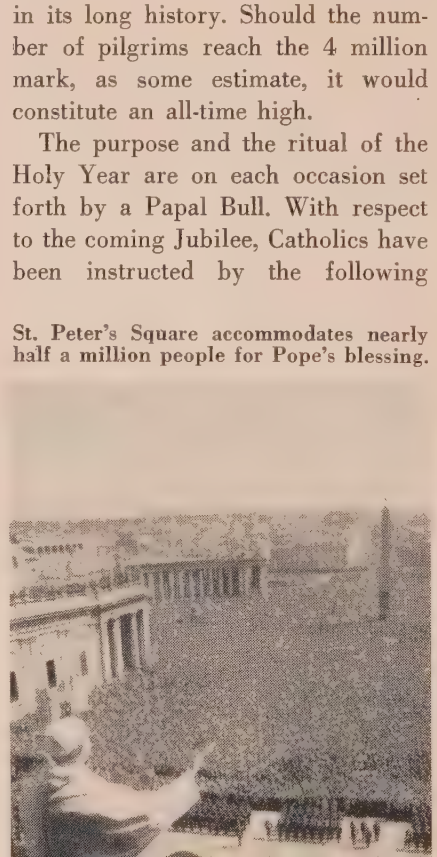
The very first Holy Year which took place in 1300 was an improvised affair, a spontaneous congregation in Rome of hundreds of thousands of believers who came to the Eternal City in the hope of obtaining some special indulgence. During the intervening 650 years, organized Jubilees were held on 23 other occasions at irregular intervals—schisms, wars and other acts of man often preventing their celebration. Preliminary reports encourage Rome to believe that the Holy Year of 1950 might become the most successful in its long history. Should the number of pilgrims reach the 4 million mark, as some estimate, it would constitute an all-time high.

The purpose and the ritual of the Holy Year are on each occasion set forth by a Papal Bull. With respect to the coming Jubilee, Catholics have been instructed by the following passage of a declaration by the present Pontiff dated June 2, 1948:

"During this year of expiation," the Bull reads, "to all the faithful who duly confess their sins in the Sacrament of Penance, who receive Holy Communion and visit once on that day, or on different days and in order of their choice, the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, St. Peter's in the Vatican, St. Paul's on the Ostian Way, and St. Mary Major's on the Esquiline, and recite in each Basilica thrice the "Our Father," "Hail Mary" and the "Glory be to the Father" for Our intentions and in addition the Creed, We grant and bestow mercifully in the Lord a full indulgence and pardon of all the punishment due to sin."

Thus the Holy Year is a purely religious institution and function. Yet history shows that the whole atmosphere of the Jubilee is influenced and permeated by the personality of the reigning Pope. Reflecting the varying characters and the individual propensities of the successive Su-

St. Peter's Square accommodates nearly half a million people for Pope's blessing.



THE MAJESTIC DOME OF ST. PETER'S, AS VIEWED FROM CASTEL SANT'ANGELO

preme Pontiffs, there had been elab-
orate jubilees—as in 1500 when
Alexander VI was Pope, deeply
mystical ones, such as the one over
which Benedict XIV presided in
1750, or humbly popular ones, as for
instance, the one conducted by Pope
Leo XII in 1825.

The man who today occupies the
throne of St. Peter's is recognized by
friend and foe alike as an exceptional
personality, whose influence extends
far beyond the religious sphere.

One explanation of his greatness
may be perhaps that Pope Pius XII
presents a combination of intellectual
and spiritual qualities, which is
among the rarest. His words and
deeds show that he is a genuine mys-
tic reminiscent of some of the purest
Church figures of the early Middle
Ages; at the same time, however, he
has proven himself to be one of the
most astute and skillful diplomatists
of modern times.

As a diplomat and a Papal Nun-
cio, the former Monsignor Eugenio
Pacelli achieved such a feat as the
conclusion of a Concordat with the
pre-Hitlerian German Republic. As
a Cardinal, appointed to the po-
sition of Secretary of State, he pur-
sued with immense success the work
of no lesser a diplomatic genius
than the great Cardinal Gasparri.
As Pope, therefore, Pius XII decided
not to fill the post of Secretary of
State after the death of Luigi Car-
dinal Maglione. He is his own For-
eign Minister, and directs the far
flung and vital policies of the Church
in all its intricate details in a period
fraught with difficulties and danger.

According to an old tradition, the
Vatican's Secretary of State is al-
most never elected to the Supreme
Pontificate. If his colleagues made an
exception with Monsignor Pacelli,

The Great Jubilee *continued*

the reason might have been that they recognized how this perspicacious and skillful expert in international affairs was mainly a prelate whose faith in the mission of his Church had a quality so deep and dynamic as to be almost superhuman. His entourage insists that few Popes had Pius XII's constantly present and all-pervading conviction of being at every moment of his life the Vicar of Christ on earth, whose mission it is to save souls.

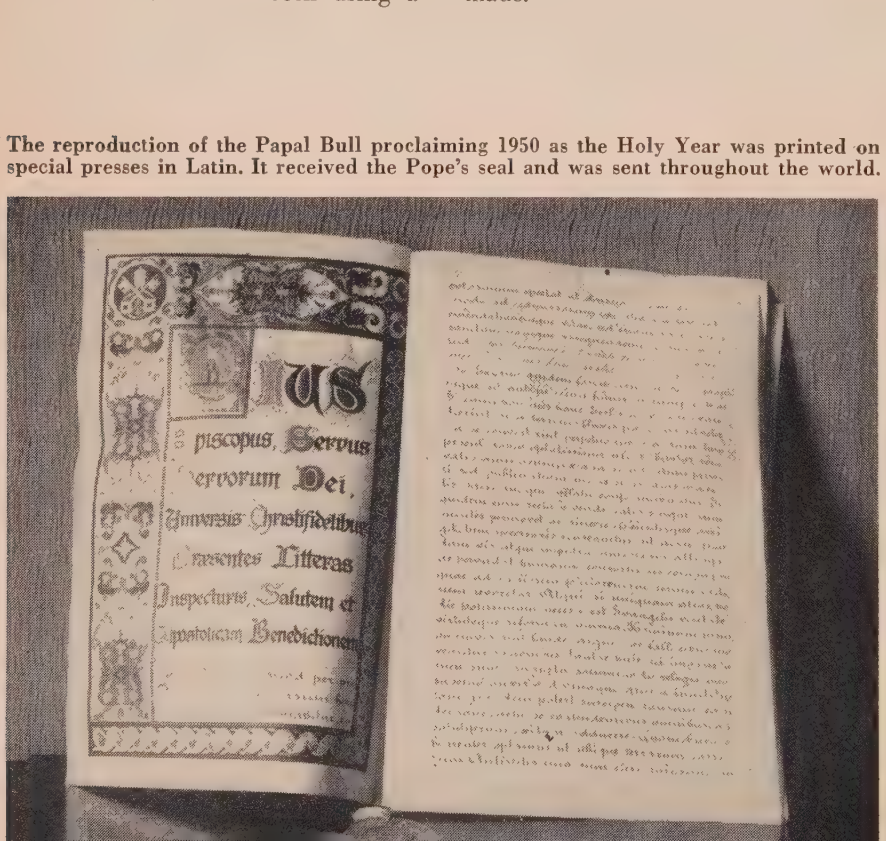
This ceaseless preoccupation with the highest conception of his Supreme Office makes Pius XII a very lonely human being. Old dignitaries in the Vatican remember some of his predecessors as jovial men who would inquire about the families of their attendants, or even about their favorite food and drink. Such intimacy with the present Bishop of Rome would be utterly unimaginable. Even toward his closest collaborators, Monsignor Domenico Tardini and Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini, he behaves as the benign but distant and respected Master.

Interestingly, in administrative matters Pius XII is a thoroughly modern man. He has been using a typewriter ever since his days as Nuncio in Munich during World War I, and he has a golden telephone over which he personally often calls high Vatican officials. But no one has yet rung up His Holiness. Incidentally, the Vatican's switchboard operators are monks.

Pope Pius usually starts his day at 6 o'clock in the morning. He opens the windows of his bedroom, draws his own bath and shaves with an electric razor. He says Mass at 7 o'clock in the private chapel contiguous to his bedroom, then breakfasts on a cup of coffee and a couple of hard rolls. He remains in his private study until 8:30, reading and writing letters. He then goes down from the third to the second floor in a private elevator to an ornate desk in his vast library.

THE Pope's first visitors are Monsignor Tardini and Monsignor Montini, who spend at least two hours with him. This is the most important conference of the day. All major political problems are reviewed and discussed, reports from foreign countries are analyzed and decisions are made.

The reproduction of the Papal Bull proclaiming 1950 as the Holy Year was printed on special presses in Latin. It received the Pope's seal and was sent throughout the world.



The departure of the two prelates signals the beginning of the private audiences. Protocol reigns supreme at these receptions where chamberlains, secretaries, masters of the household, and various guards accompany Cardinals, Ambassadors, Papal Nuncii, Bishops, visiting dignitaries from one antechamber to another until they are escorted to the Little Throne Room.

When the list of privileged visitors is exhausted, the Supreme Pontiff leaves his throne, and walks through a succession of smaller but no less sumptuously appointed reception rooms. Here are gathered men, women and children from the four corners of the earth anxiously awaiting the papal benediction in public or group audiences.

Pope Pius XII takes his mid-day meal—as he does all others—in strict privacy. No one is ever invited to his table. His food is prepared by sisters of a German order. He never eats meat for supper and as a rule fasts on Friday.

After luncheon and a short rest, the Pope continues his work, dealing mainly with administrative problems. At 4 o'clock he takes a long walk in the gardens of the Vatican, usually accompanied by one of the Cardinals or a high ranking visitor. At 6 o'clock Monsignor Montini arrives for a last conference, and to report on financial matters.

At 7 o'clock His Holiness retires for the day. He takes a simple cold meal, and more often than not devotes the rest of the evening to reading. Dante and Goethe are his two great favorites. Pope Pius, besides Italian and Latin, reads and speaks fluently English, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese.

The Pontiff is also an accomplished musician. He likes to listen to classical music over the radio, and his taste ranges from Corelli to Debussy. In his youth, the Pacelli family used to hold an afternoon of chamber music every Sunday, and Pius XII has remained an excellent violinist. In Rome people say that the Pope possesses a rare Stradivarius and that whenever he feels weary, he takes the instrument out of its case and plays until late hours, when the

rest of the Vatican is all silence and quiet in the deep shadow and majesty of St. Peter's.

Such is the man, supreme Pastor, whose convocation to Rome may be heeded by as many as 200,000 of the faithful in 1950 from North America alone.

These pilgrims, however, will not only meet the living Head of their Church. At every step in the Vatican they will encounter mute witnesses of a long past, that have conserved a surprisingly contemporary character throughout the centuries, because they speak the eternal language of imperishable masterpieces.

The Vatican is a breath-taking museum, where present and past mingle at every corner in unbroken continuity. This is the only place, for instance, where the spirit of the Renaissance at its zenith really comes to life. In the apartments of long deceased Popes, architecture, sculpture, painting had been summoned up to glorify divine and earthly power in harmonious unison. And since the belief which inspired these works through the genius of Bramante, Pinturicchio, Michelangelo, Raphael, Bernini and so many others, is still active, the masterpieces continue to preserve their impact with an urgency that would be difficult to find anywhere else.

At the time when an Alexander VI or a Julius II embellished the Vatican with such sumptuousness, the Church was not only the greatest spiritual power on earth, but also lord of large domains and powerful armies. Today the Sovereign State of the Vatican consists of 44 acres, and its subjects number about one thousand.

This miniature monarchy functions under the supervision of the Commission for the State of Vatican City headed by a Cardinal. It has its own postal system, its radio station, police and army: the hundred-odd Swiss guards who still wear the yellow, red and blue uniform designed by Michelangelo.

One of these guards opens the Gate of St. Anne in Vatican City promptly at 6 o'clock in the morning. Another locks it at 10 in the evening. Should a Vatican subject happen to return to his country after that hour, he must ring a bell and sign his name on a sheet of paper which, the following morning, is transmitted to the Cardinal who presides over the City Commission.

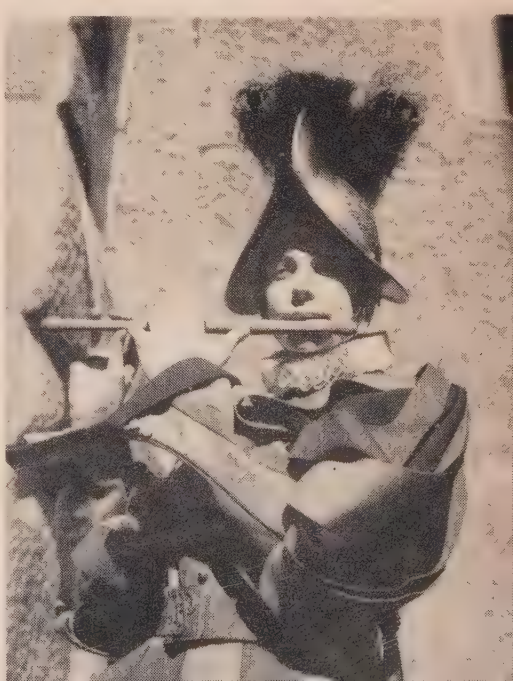
Each year hundreds of thousands of diplomatic notes, reports, petitions, letters and inquiries reach the Vatican from all parts of the world. This vast business is handled by 12 Sacred Congregations, three Tribunals and six Offices. But such is the efficiency of this administration, oiled and perfected by centuries of experience, that the entire staff comprises no more than about 300 people, the majority of them priests. The laymen who work here usually belong to one of the old Roman families whose loyalty to the Church has spanned many generations.

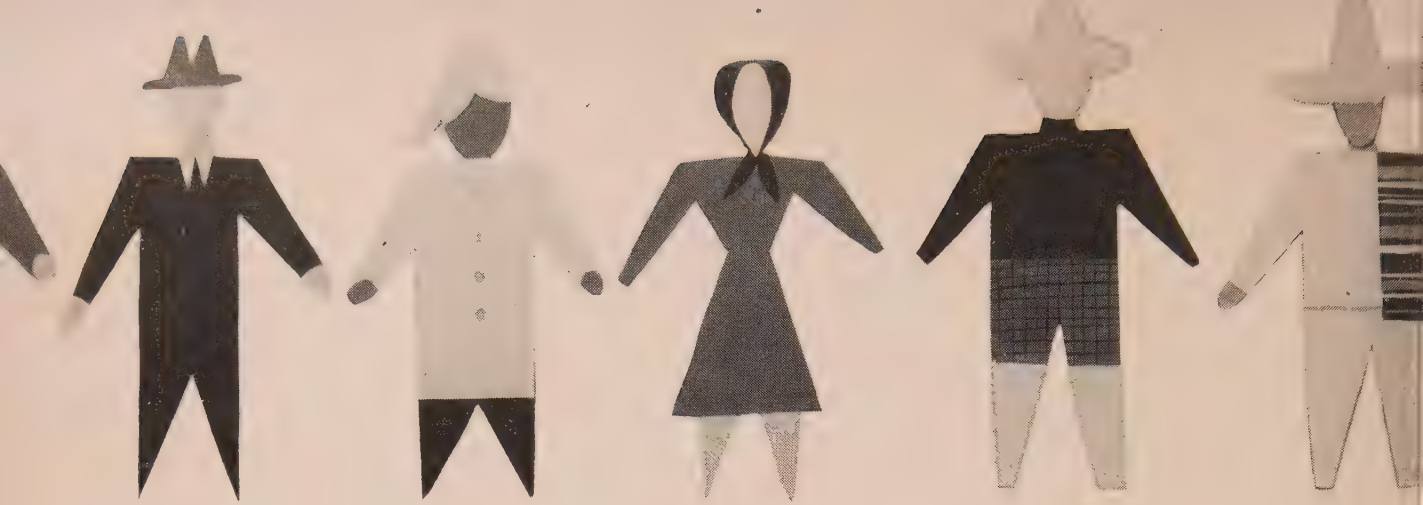
In the past, the faithful who made it their duty to visit Rome during the Holy Year arrived afoot, on donkeys, on horseback, in ox-carts after an exhausting trip lasting interminable months. This year, for the first time in history, a regular airlift of pilgrims is being organized on every continent. Rome's Ciampino airport is preparing to receive one million airborne pilgrims. A new customs house and a new terminal building are being erected, runways extended and underground passages from terminals to loading ramps installed. Trans World Airline, the only American company licensed to fly directly to Rome, has purchased 20 new Constellations at a cost of $20,000,000 to handle the expected mass of travelers. Next summer, TWA will have four daily flights from New York to Rome—a kind of trans-Atlantic commuting service. Flying time from the Hudson to the Tiber is 23 hours, almost to the second. The last time this writer flew in a Constellation to Rome, he arrived exactly two minutes late after a flight covering 4,273 air miles. The first pilgrimage by air from this country will leave New York as early as December 18, and will carry passengers who desire to be present at the opening of the Holy Door at St. Peter's.

In Rome, municipal and ecclesiastic authorities are engaged in the vast organizational task of accommodating the flock of visitors. The Vatican will provide special dormitory facilities for some 20 thousand clergymen and members of religious orders. These dormitories will not be available for tourists, but they will relieve the demand on other facilities. The new expansion of hotels and *pensioni* will contribute 2,000 rooms. 15,000 rooms will be put at the disposal of travelers in private homes, duly inspected and approved by government agencies. To prevent speculation and overcharge, standard rates will be posted in hotel rooms as well as in rooms provided by families. American visitors may stay in Italy for six months without formalities and can extend their stay beyond six months with no difficulty at all. They will be given increased gasoline rations for personal driving and are permitted to bring 400 cigarettes free of duty into Italy.

Rome is preparing for the Holy Year with efficiency and enthusiasm —not only because of the religious character of the great event, nor simply because of the magic of the US dollar. It just so happens that Pope Pius XII was born in Rome of a long line of Romans. The sons and daughters of the Eternal City feel that the Jubilee proclaimed by their most famous fellow-citizen is, in truth, something of a family celebration.

Youngest Guard, Carlo Ruppen, 13, son of the vice-commander of papal soldiery.





Modern Mar

By JAIME TORRES BODET

Director General of UNESCO

THE last war taught us that victory calls for skilled technicians as well as for brilliant strategists and heroic leaders. We found that a shortage of trained mechanics can ground an air force, that a faulty telephone connection or an inefficient filing system can lose a battle. We discovered that entomologists could be as useful as paratroopers, and statisticians as indispensable as gunners. We learned how to fight a twentieth-century war with twentieth-century methods.

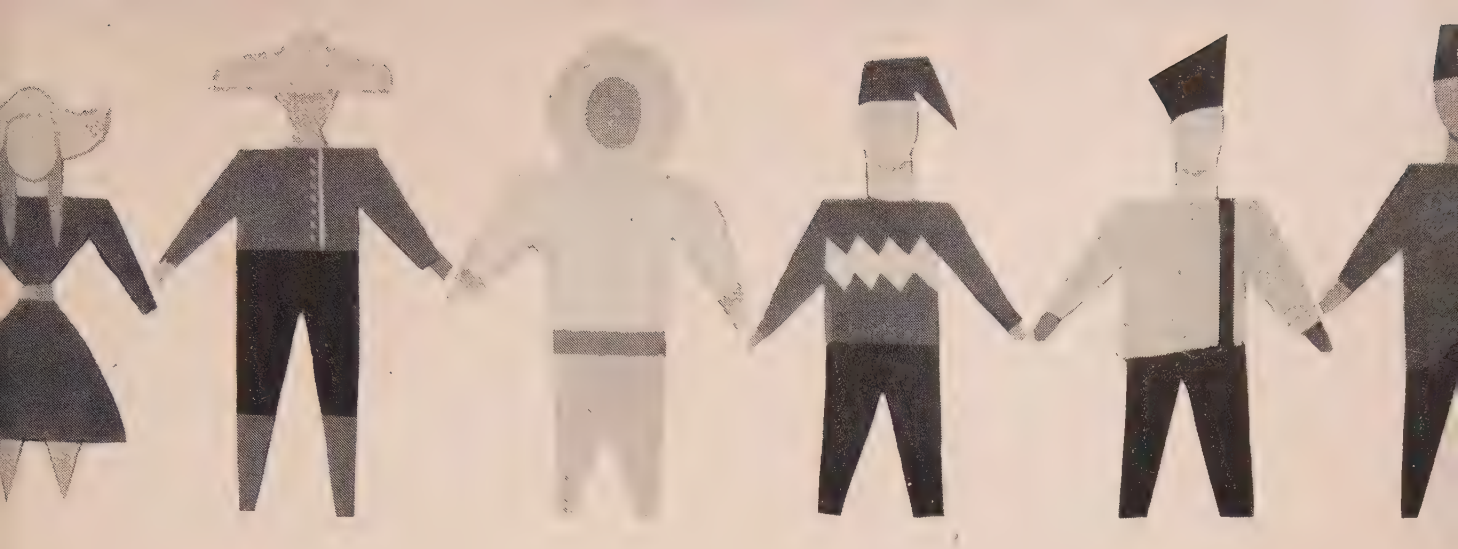
All these lessons have a peace-time application. Understanding between peoples calls for technicians as well as for apostles. The progress of civilization depends upon bureaucrats as well as geniuses. International cooperation involves teachers and engineers as well as statesmen and diplomats. Peace in our time is no less total than war.

It is necessary to keep these considerations in mind to appreciate the unique role of UNESCO in the United Nations and to understand what the organization is doing, or can do for mankind. Sometimes well-meaning people come to visit us, their imagination fired by the ringing words of our constitution: "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." They see a hard-working international secretariat cheerfully going through a great deal of sheer drudgery, or they listen to a discussion in a general conference conducted in the uninspired jargon of modern administration—full of budget-ceilings and program priorities—and they go home disillusioned.

I suspect that at the back of their disillusionment there is often an unconscious tendency to look at the twentieth century world through nineteenth-century glasses. They fail to recognize the technical—as distinguished from the emotional—implication of constructing the defenses of peace in the minds of men.

My personal symbolization of UNESCO's role is both humble and optimistic. I see a modest but expert and conscientious workman in overalls setting out to repair a defective telephone circuit. While some of the subscribers shout themselves hoarse into a dead apparatus and others accuse their neighbors of cutting them off, he quietly goes about his business of locating the break in the wires and restoring the communication.

To a much greater degree than most people realize the tensions in modern civilization—even some of the political tensions—can be traced to a mechanical breakdown of our channels of communication. There is a greater desire on the part of scientists, educators, thinkers, artists, students and workers for contact and cooperation with colleagues in other countries than there are institutional channels for effecting such contact and cooperation. Despite censorship, tariff walls and other barriers, there is a greater willingness to pool all knowledge for the common good that



and UNESCO

In a unique laboratory of mind and spirit,
Cross-fertilization of the world's cultures
Is carried forward by pioneers of a global civilization

technical means to realize the pooling.

Scientists have been notably international-minded because they know that the progress of science depends on the cooperation of all scientific workers everywhere. From the eighteenth-century onward the number of organized contacts between scientists across national boundaries has grown steadily. Yet this growth has not kept pace with the advance of science itself. Closer and wider and more continuous contact is necessary if science is to continue to go forward.

Scientific Traffic Jam

One of UNESCO's most important activities is to facilitate contact between scientists in different countries. The steps taken toward this objective may seem trivial but their cumulative effect can be vitally important. Sometimes we help workers in a certain branch of science to form an international association or federation. Or an existing organization may be aided in taking down and publishing its proceedings. We may pay the travel expenses of delegates from the smaller and more distant countries to an important scientific congress.

An amusing but highly significant example in this field was the conference we sponsored jointly with the World Health Organization in Brussels last April. Its purpose was to cope with the multiplicity of international contacts which had arisen in the medical world and which threatened to defeat its own purpose. So many medical congresses were being held all over the earth that doctors often found they could not attend one without missing another equally important nor could they always find out in time just what meetings of interest to themselves were taking place. The Brussels conference resulted in setting up a new international organization—the Council for the Coordination of International Congresses of Medical Sciences, with headquarters in Brussels and a secretariat in Paris.

A still graver problem, this time in the field of scientific literature, was studied at an international conference on science abstracting which met at UNESCO House last June. It met to deal with a situation which in the words of one distinguished delegate could easily prove "the Waterloo of Science"—namely the fact that every year almost 2,000,000 scientific articles appear in 50,000 publications.

So vast is the flood of scientific literature that no scientific worker can hope to keep abreast of all important developments. The gigantic and ever-increasing progress of scientific research is thus partially nullified by difficulty in disseminating the results of research. A major discovery in any field of science reported at a big congress may be flashed around the world before the discoverer has finished

reading his paper. But discoveries of only slightly less importance often take longer to reach the principal laboratories of the world than would have been required in the eighteenth century. It is not impossible that at this very moment patients are dying in the hospitals of the world whose lives could have been saved with a drug or a technique developed more than a year ago in some country but not yet called to international attention.

continued

To bring order out of this huge and costly chaos UNESCO was instructed by the June conference on science abstracting to act as a clearing house by publication of an international list of scientific abstracting and indexing services, with a master-list of the periodicals used.

This clearing house function is a vitally important UNESCO activity in several fields, notably in education where we strive to assemble and correlate the experience of the world's leading educators so that teachers in all countries can benefit. Another clearing house exists within our Exchange of Persons department which encourages international interchange of students—in my opinion one of the most effective ways of promoting better understanding between peoples. Last January the department brought out a publication entitled *Study Abroad, International Handbook of Fellowships, Scholarships and Educational Exchange.* It lists more than 16,000 awards available for 1948-49 in thirty-seven member and non-member states of UNESCO. This handbook—the most comprehensive anyone has yet produced—is proving of immense value to students who want to study abroad, and to governments and educational institutions which are anxious to secure highly-qualified foreign students for the fellowships or other awards they offer.

A supplement to *Study Abroad* was published in April. Next month a second volume of the handbook will be ready, listing not only regular fellowships and scholarships but other varied opportunities for study or travel.

Rebuilding the Little Red Schoolhouse

UNESCO's activities are by no means confined to breaking intellectual traffic jams. In the last three years a high percentage of our effort has gone into emergency repair work in regions where war and its economic aftermath had almost entirely swept away the machinery for perpetuating civilization.

Money had to be raised for rebuilding destroyed schools, laboratories and museums. The needs of war-devastated countries had to be catalogued. Care had to be taken to rush pencils for schoolroom slates to one country, textbooks to another. Various official and non-governmental agencies have helped war victims with food, medicines, clothing and fuel. But never before in history had the nations consciously and systematically undertaken to prevent war from leaving a lasting damage in the minds of the growing generation.

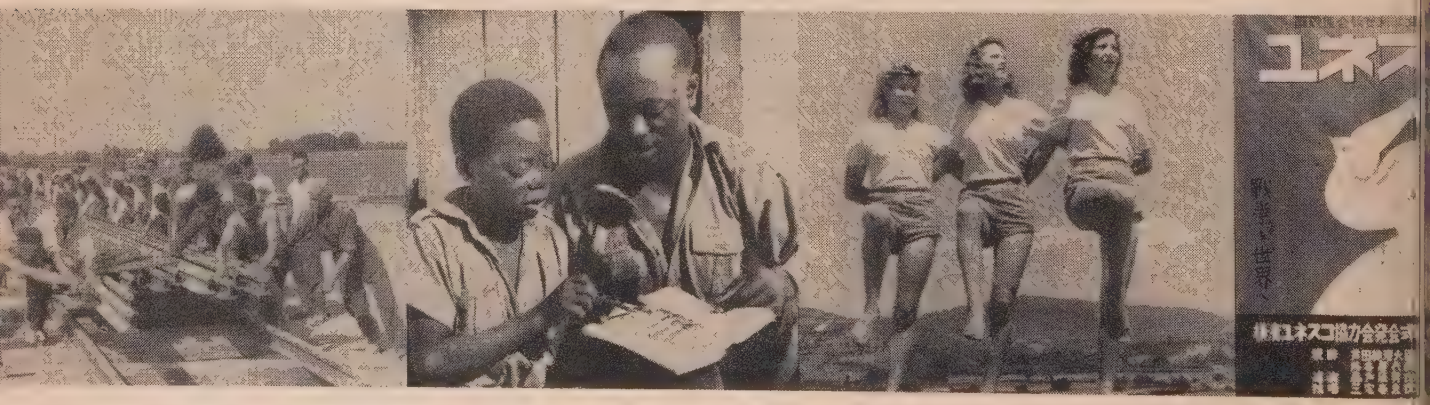
UNESCO is the principal agency through which this task has been accomplished. The work is far from finished. Despite all our efforts in some parts of the world the underpinnings of civilization are still crumbling away for lack of such humble repair-materials as blackboards or school benches. Yet a widespread collapse of civilization such as occurred in parts of Europe during the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century has probably been averted.

One by-product of our educational reconstruction work is the international voluntary work-camps where young people from many nations join together to help in the work of reconstruction. These promise to evolve into a valuable institution to promote understanding. Nearly 200 such camps are in operation this year. In consultation with the International Labor Organization, UNESCO encourages and guides the growth of this movement.

In a number of countries a famine of the mind exists because of the post-war economic difficulty of buying foreign books. To meet this need we have put into operation a system of international book coupons. Under this scheme a national of a soft-currency country can purchase from UNESCO in his own currency a coupon which he uses to pay for educational, scientific or cultural books ordered from a hard-currency country. UNESCO eventually redeems the coupon in hard currency. Coupons to the value of $144,000 have already been issued.

UNESCO Around the World

From left to right: Heavy work in a Yugoslav Youth Camp. Boy teaching his father in Haiti's educational campaign. Light work in a Yugoslav Youth Camp. A UNESCO Poster in Japan.



Intellectual Missionaries

Perhaps the most urgently important of all UNESCO's work is in the underdeveloped regions of the world which progress has more or less by-passed. Civilization has never had a broad enough base, even in the most advanced countries. Its growth is bound to be incomplete and its survival in peril, so long as more than half the human race cannot read or write. No country in the world today produces enough teachers, doctors and engineers to meet all its needs. The time will come when the technologically advanced societies will need to draw on the untapped resources of human skills and intelligence represented by the so-called backward peoples, not merely to raise the living standards of these peoples, but to maintain their own.

UNESCO sends teams of experts to advise the school authorities of member states on their educational problems. The potentialities of these educational missions are enhanced by the fact that the techniques of teaching have been revolutionized in the last fifty years. The arrival of properly qualified experts in a country whose educational system is both underdeveloped and out-of-date—the case in much of the world—has an impact hard for the layman to realize.

Educational seminars are a potent tool for promoting education. UNESCO held one such seminar in Brazil last summer on the problem of mass illiteracy. A second one dealing with rural adult education opened in India on November second. These seminars are purposeful, highly practical specialized training courses for teachers and governmental education officers. Through them UNESCO, with a small expenditure of money and the use of only a few staff specialists, helps large numbers of key educators to help themselves in their work. This is just one more illustration of the coordinated interchange which enables UNESCO to exercise a constructive influence out of all proportion to the size of its budget.

These examples of UNESCO's activity represent only a small part of our whole program. I could mention our science field cooperation offices; the exciting experiment in fundamental education which we are carrying on in Haiti; the manuals for teachers with which we try to help them to banish hate and prejudice from their classrooms; the work of our Cultural Affairs Department in promoting the translations of the world's classics; the work of our Reconstruction Department in providing emergency educational assistance for Palestinian refugees; the work of our Mass Communications Department in studying the obstacles to the free circulation of information and in providing press and radio with programs for international understanding.

Critics may object that all these activities, though worthwhile in themselves, do not solve the grave international problems on whose solution the future of our civilization depends. It is doubtless true that standardizing the musical pitch, translating *Don Quixote* into Arabic, bringing masterpieces of pictorial art to the masses through encouraging fine reproductions, will not automatically lead to a convention for international control of atomic energy. Helping Indonesian scientists to eliminate the water-hyacinths which clog their canals does not aid the statesmen to remove the tariff walls which clog the channels of international trade. Neither will the Human Rights Exhibition which UNESCO opened in Paris last month put an end to the violations of human rights which occur all over the world.

THE AUTHOR

47 years old, Jaime Torres Bodet has been Director General of UNESCO since December 1948. Previously he served first as Minister of Education and later as Minister of Foreign Affairs of his native Mexico. Mr. Torres Bodet has gained an outstanding reputation as an organizer of campaigns against illiteracy.

You and UNESCO

My answer to such arguments is simple. We cannot always show how cultural and scientific cooperation, and progress in education facilitate political agreement between nations. Yet we know that cultural isolation, ideological misunderstanding, and lack of faith in man's future pave the way for tyrants and aggressors. Study of history suggests that good or evil works accumulate bit by bit until they attain a volume comparable to what physicists term critical mass. Then an explosion may occur—either a flash of destructive forces or a controlled release of creative energy. UNESCO's mission is to build up a critical mass of good works in the modern world.

Since this approach to the problem of peace implies that even the most minute contributions are ultimately important, there is opportunity for every individual to help the constructive work of UNESCO. Directly he can support the UNESCO national commission in his country by participating in the activity of one of the non-governmental organizations which cooperate with it. Indirectly—and to my mind this is even more important—he can serve the cause for which UNESCO stands by making his own life conform to UNESCO's ideal. To increase world understanding one must begin by trying oneself to understand. To promote tolerance one must be tolerant. To support civilization one must add to it.

It is by acting as individual members of a world society that we shall establish a world society. It is by improving the present that we shall build the future. It is by learning to work with other men—those who live next door and those who live across the world—that we can best work for Man.

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A Diplomat Called Mike

Canada's Mr. Pearson discovers the advantages of a warm manner amidst the tempers and temperatures of a cold war

By EVELYN KESSEL

ONLY one diplomat in the world is called Mike. He is the Hon. Lester Bowles Pearson, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs and that country's chief delegate to the UN.

The new minister is compact in build, neat in grooming, and exudes that air of confidence to be expected of a man who has made a success of three careers; and who at 51 acquired the stature of a world statesman.

In World War I, when Ottawa's young men were crowding each other in enlistment queues, Lester Pearson was so eager that the tough British recruiting sergeant bawled, "Hey, Mike, get back in line!"

From that day forward, from University professor to Ambassador to Cabinet Officer and UN diplomat, Mr. Pearson, lightly toting his five LLD's, is still Mike. With something of the fellowship the nickname implies, he has shown a talent for human relations matching his talent for statecraft. Reporters admire his accessibility and trust in their discretion. Unlike many UN diplomats, he is never afraid to fill them in with off-the-record background. And the quick Pearson smile rarely flickers out, even if it may get a little grim around 2:30 AM after a long Assembly session.

Mr. Pearson's prismatic activities both before and since his graduation from the University of Toronto in the class of 1919, validate his own phrase about his "horror of getting into a

rut." In World War I, he rose from private to corporal to second lieutenant to air force pilot and instructor. When the war was over, he took a job in a Chicago stockyard before returning to complete his unfinished college course. His boast was that, at the stockyard, he had worked his way up from floor-scrubbing to sausage-making. Pearson relinquished sausage-making, however, for a Massey Foundation Fellowship to Oxford, where, at St. John's College, he improved his knowledge of rugby, tennis, hockey, lacrosse and "somehow . . . managed a degree in history."

One thing Pearson refused to acquire at Oxford was a British accent. He was and remains too intensely Canadian for that. Moreover, in spite of a flair for British sports, he is a congenital baseball fan. On one of his trips to New York, while he was Canadian Ambassador to Washington, he was the guest of Branch Rickey at a Brooklyn Dodgers game. A pitcher came out of the bullpen to replace another and Rickey muttered, "Now who the devil is he?" Pearson rejoined off-handedly: "Why, that's Art Herring." Rickey, who had been explaining baseball to his guest, never quite got over it.

Pearson's adult life divides itself into three distinct phases. Returning from Oxford in 1923, he joined the staff of Toronto University as Assistant Professor of Modern History and varsity football coach. He married one of his students, Maryon Elspeth Moody, whom he described as "shy, appealing, collected." Professor Pearson still retains a certain nostalgia for his classroom days. Recently, he took a group of Canadian high school youngsters on a grand tour of Lake Success. His special assistant, R. G. Riddell, also once a history professor at Toronto, reported with a chuckle, "The kids were spell-bound by Mike's lecture on international affairs. He still has the teacher's touch."

Pearson began the second phase of his career in 1928. In the summer of that year, he was researching in the archives at Ottawa for a book of his own on United Empire Loyalists. Over the documents, he happened to make the acquaintance of Dr. O. D. Skelton, then External Affairs Under-Secretary, and a talent scout of considerable perspicacity. Soon young Pearson had become a first secretary in Canada's diplomatic service. His rise was phenomenal as a series of foreign missions enabled him to build up a backlog of political and diplomatic know-how. For the next few years he commuted across the Atlantic to attend conferences on disarmament and international law at London, the Hague and Geneva.

By 1935 Pearson had become an accredited member of the inner circle diplomats and in that year was appointed secretary and later counselor to the London office of the Canadian High Commissioner. He thinks his London experience was invaluable if only because of an osmatic absorption of ideas and methods at certain luncheon club meetings with Foreign Office personnel. Their realistic off-the-record talks about political issues provided invaluable grounding in the *realpolitik*.

In 1941, Mackenzie King, who had been observing the young diplomat in action, ordered him home to become Under-Secretary of State. At the same time, the astute *Manchester Guardian* commented editorially that "Mike" Pearson had become the best known Canadian in England.

The following year Pearson was posted in Washington as Minister-Counselor of the Canadian Legation. (In 1944 he was to become the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.) The work-load of the new job was heavy, for it entailed around-the-clock discussions on international issues.

His natural wit, in which buoyancy removes the sting, made him popular in the US capital, bored with the circumlocutions of old-school diplomats. Minister Pearson varied his duties by organizing a Sunday afternoon softball team called "Pearson's Pen Pushers," which consistently defeated the US State Department Nine.

By this time, 1943-44, Pearson was easily the most adept Canadian in the practical side of international policy; his "supporting" roles in London and Washington had been a full-dress rehearsal for a "lead" part in world diplomacy. In January, 1945, he succeeded Leighton McCarthy as Canadian Ambassador to the US. It has been said of him that he was the first Canadian emissary who saw to it that Canada—pretty well ignored by the United States (except for speeches about unfortified borders) since the days of Montcalm and Wolfe—was no longer taken for granted.

In 1946 after just a year as Ambassador, Pearson was retransferred to Ottawa to become Under-Secretary for External Affairs.

Paralleling Pearson's advancement in Canada's diplomatic hierarchy has been his consistent rise in the UN. Here, his history begins with the history of the UN itself. He was Senior Adviser to the delegation headed by Prime Minister Mackenzie King at the UN's birth in San Francisco. He was a member of the Canadian delegation to the Hot Springs Food Conference —the first UN conference ever held —in the spring of 1942. He was a moving spirit in the founding of the Food and Agricultural Organization. He had much to do with setting up UNRRA; with the FAO conference at Quebec in 1945 and the UNRRA conferences in Montreal and London, at all of which he acted as Chairman.

Pearson, eager young pilot in World War I leans proudly against his old crate.

Presiding over UNRRA meetings was by no means easy. Tensions

A Diplomat Called Mike *continued*

mounted and tempers flared. Maryon Pearson presented her husband with a pamphlet on parliamentary procedure as a wifely guide to the perplexed. Its efficacy was doubtful. Soon afterward, he was obliged to adjourn deadlocked debates for cooling-off periods.

Serving on every Canadian delegation to every UN conference right down to the Fourth General Assembly, Pearson has become known as a shrewd, tough-minded negotiator. In 1947 he was chairman of the Assembly subcommittee which drafted the plans for the UN Interim Committee

Flanked by high UN officials, Pearson as Chairman of Committee I of the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly, confers with Andrew W. Cordier.

—the "Little Assembly" so resented by the USSR and for a spell was Canada's representative on the Security Council.

In April 1947, the General Assembly—for the first time in its history—met in special session to consider the British government's request for recommendations on the future status of Palestine. Pearson was handed the tough job of being chairman of this Assembly's Political Committee of 55 nations, which created the UN Special Committee on Palestine, known as UNSCOP. The report of UNSCOP formed the basis for the eventual Palestine partition plan, of which Pearson is said to have been the chief architect. Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, president of the Assembly, and Mr. Pearson were the skilled team that guided the plan to General Assembly approval. Pearson had undertaken the task of hammering the divergent American and Russian views on partition into accord. Soviets and Americans differed on essential points, but he found ways to reconcile them, as well as achieving agreement between certain Latin American countries before the final vote.

Pearson's twenty years as an appointive career diplomat ended, and his career as an elective official began on September 10, 1948. On that day, Lester Bowles Pearson, former stockyard worker, football coach, and history professor, took the oath as Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs in the presence of two Prime Ministers.

For this date marked the beginning of the third and *political* phase of his activities, since in Canada "State Department" officers have to be elected after they have first been named. The event was in fact a political coup which jolted parliamentary circles. Prime Minister Designate Louis St. Laurent wanted a man in his cabinet so familiar with international policy that he could handle External Affairs without initiation. He picked Pearson but had a hard time coaxing him into the job. The day after his new assignment, a friend asked him: "When did you become a member of the Liberal Party?"

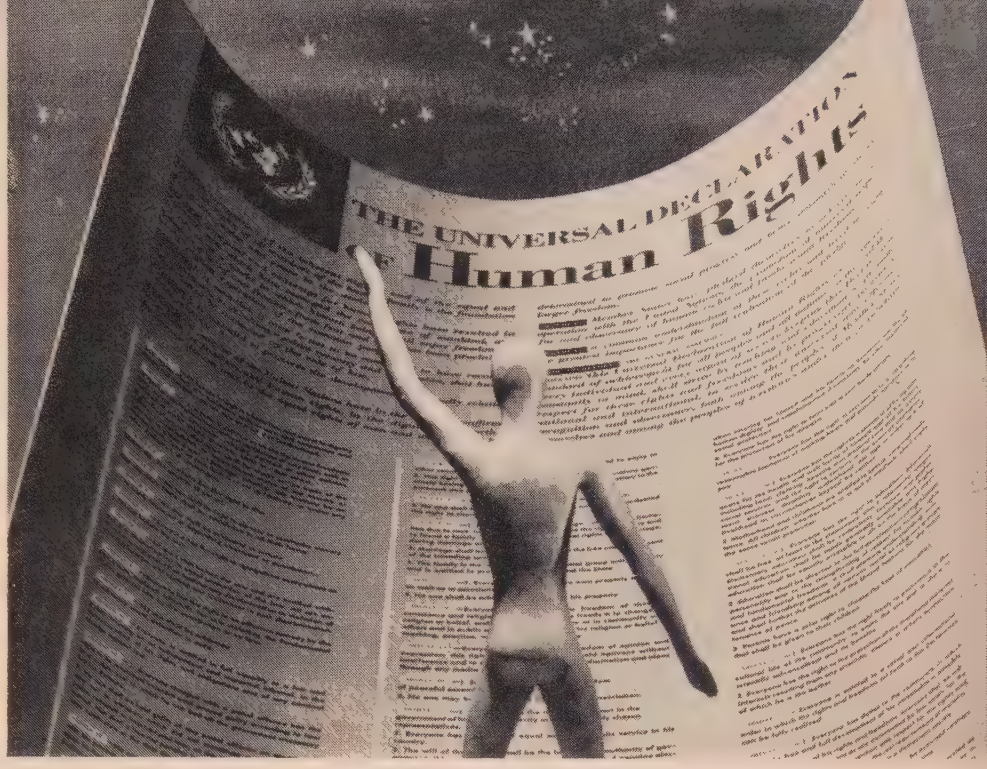
"Yesterday, when I took the oath as a Liberal Minister," Pearson replied.

Before assuming his new post, Mr. Pearson had to stand election for the requisite seat in Parliament. This was an entirely new experience. Despite his popularity in Canada, many thought he would find it no pushover to win the election in Algoma East, the remote Northern Ontario constituency with its trappers, farmers, miners and tourist-camp operators, many of them French-speaking Canadians. He made it—with a safe margin of votes. Immediately after election, he flew to Paris to take over the leadership of his UN delegation; then headed for London and the Commonwealth Conference. He was playing in the big league now.

Pearson's basic and abiding interest is in world relationships. Of the UN he once said, "It is Canada's biggest bargain so far—it has cost us less than 2/3 the price of a destroyer." His maiden speech in Parliament on February 4, 1949, was devoted to the Atlantic Pact, then at the proposal stage. Pearson declared, "The pact will be a group insurance policy—which is cheaper and more effective than an individual policy."

Through his efforts in behalf of the Atlantic Pact, Pearson emerged up front on the stage of world statesmanship. For years he had stressed the need for the free countries to pool their strength. When the historic North Atlantic Treaty was signed by 12 nations on April 5, 1949, the alliance set the seal on a new international defense system which was a step in the direction of this ideal.

The President of the United States has announced the three foundations upon which American policy in the United Nations will be conducted in coming years. They are: universal human rights, economic development and control of atomic energy. The exact meaning of these three fundamental concepts is the subject of top level discussions all over the world. Herewith is an analysis of each of the three cornerstones of American policy in the UN. Views of other countries on this subject will be presented in future issues.



Mr. Truman and the UN

A combine—not a monopoly

By LAURA VITRAY

WHEN historians of the Twenty-first Century look back to appraise this one, they will discern in its turmoil and threats of annihilation one thing very bright: a new Magna Carta of Human Rights applying to all mankind. As its author, Franklin D. Roosevelt looms a gigantic figure. But Harry S. Truman will be somewhere in the picture too—a plain man, diligently striving to put the enlarged Bill of Human Rights to work —everywhere in the world.

Last month at the United Nations cornerstone laying, President Truman boldly identified the three immediate objectives of US policy in the UN. Abandoning previous practices of widely scattered political activities, the United States will concentrate its efforts in the UN on these three main points: 1) Adoption and enforcement of an international Covenant of Human Rights; 2) in the economic field, encouragement and financial support of the UN Technical Assistance Program for the underdeveloped countries; 3) control of atomic energy that is adequate to avert an atomic war.

Truman undoubtedly foresaw struggles ahead. Often enough he has been bogged down in the mire of Congressional vituperation over his "welfare state," his fair-deal schemes, his battle to end discrimination against the Negro, his projects for "squandering" US tax dollars to raise the living standards of the Fijis. The end is not yet. In January the President will renew his fight for funds to aid the economically underdeveloped countries. Someday he may face a Congress that bucks like a bronco at turning US atomic plants over to international management. But he has a good world combine in business with him. In the UN, too, there is enough dissension to remove any accusation that it is a "monopolistic enterprise."

Frequently the battles at Lake Suc-

Mr. Truman and the UN *continued*

cess get even hotter than they do in Washington. So hot that recently in the General Assembly, while Russia's Vishinsky was tossing off remarks that exploded with atomic force, Assembly President Romulo ordered the simultaneous-translation boys to turn him off.

1. Human Rights Covenant

When Truman made *respect for human rights* the first cornerstone of American policy in the UN, he knew that the fight in the UN for a Universal Declaration of Human Rights was child's play compared with the one there will be to achieve a Covenant on Human Rights. For the Declaration is merely a statement of the rights men are entitled to—if they can get them. The Covenant—or international treaty —means *application, implementation, interference* by a world body, when national courts violate the Covenant.

How sharp and how bitter that battle will be can be judged by the arguments over the Declaration. At San Francisco the nations found it easy to write into the preamble to the UN Charter a pledge of cooperation "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Yet they wrangled for two years in the Commission on Human Rights to produce the Declaration; and in Paris, the committee of the Third General Assembly assigned to give the document a quick once-over, fought its way through 85 sizzling roundtables before reporting it back to the main body.

What developed in these hot sessions was that there is not *one* concept of human rights — there are many. Professor Vladimir Koretsky of the USSR was mainly responsible for enshrining in the Declaration the principles of equality and non-discrimination. Yet his country could not accept, outside the framework of Communism, the article which says: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

The Soviet Union fought to append the words "according to the laws of the country" to almost all articles of the Declaration. Others found this inadmissible. Human rights are not conferred, as Dr. Charles H. Malik of Lebanon pointed out. They are "man's inner freedom and his natural and inalienable rights."

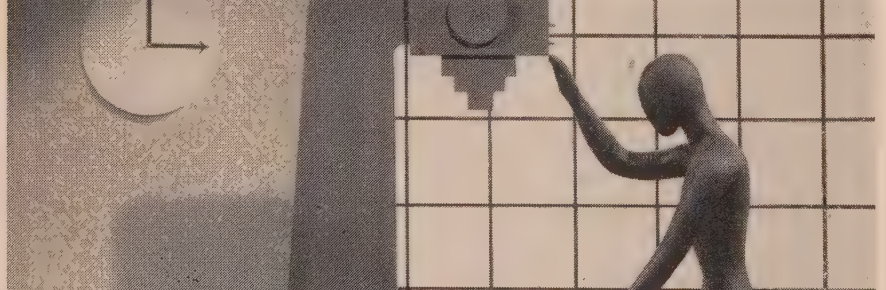
Saudi-Arabia's delegate denied the "right to change one's religion" which he insisted Mohammedanism forbids. Here he got into a hot argument with the Mahammedan delegate of Pakistan, who quoted the Koran: "He who will believe shall believe and he who will not shall not believe; the only unforgiveable sin is to be a hypocrite."

South Africa balked at racial equality. Her discriminatory treatment of Negroes and persons of Indian origin is notorious. The latter has caused India to complain to the General Assembly.

In a world where there are Cardinal Mindszenty cases, and stateless people herded into camps, and forced labor in many places, it is something to write down as universal principles that "no one shall be subjected to torture," that "everyone has a right to nationality," that "no one shall be held in slavery." The Declaration went further to embody a revolutionary concept of the State as existing for the welfare of the people. It challenged totalitarianism with the worth and dignity of all human beings. It challenged the democracies by allowing no basis whatever for discrimination, and by adding social and economic rights to the old personal and political ones—right to an education, to a job, to food, clothing, housing, medical care and social security.

The new struggle just beginning in the Human Rights Commission centers around how many of these human rights will be retained in the Covenant, which will be binding on the signatory states. Most states feel they cannot take responsibility for economic rights without interfering with traditional freedoms, the "free enterprise" of the West—though England and France are attempting to do so. "Freedom of Information" may be omitted from the text of the Covenant, but incorporated in a separate treaty.

Already there are signs of an intense struggle over methods of enforcing the Covenant on Human Rights. Australia is strongly backing the idea of an international Court of Human Rights, to which nations, groups or individuals would bring their complaints that their rights were being violated, and have their case heard. Other nations think the establishment of such a court is too bold a step at the present time, and will push for plans that call for some less authoritative body—possibly a UN Commission, or a panel responsible to the



THE ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF MAN INCLUDE HIS "RIGHT TO WORK."

Secretary-General. Such a body might confer with the governments of nations involved in human rights complaints, and attempt to improve conditions by conciliation, rather than exercising the powers of a tribunal.

President Truman's pronouncement aligned the US firmly on the side of a Covenant that would be given adequate implementation, with sanctions against offenders. He has made human rights a world political issue, as well as a world effort. On the home front, he has already shown that he means to apply the principles of the Declaration and the Covenant. He battered down opposition of army bigwigs when he abolished segregation in the armed forces. He has taken on the Congressional Goliath with demands for such things as Fair Employment Practices legislation, and health insurance. Now the base is broadened. The US delegation to the UN will press for a UN Bill of Rights with the widest possible application throughout the world.

II. Economic Development

Truman sees Point Four and the UN Technical Assistance program as the fastest, surest means of extending human rights to everyone. He makes democracy a contender with Communism for the minds and hearts of "hundreds of millions inhabiting large areas with great natural resources, who refuse any longer to accept the notion that hunger and poverty are their natural lot."

The President's views are thus summarized by Secretary of State Acheson:

"The Communists talk of organizing great masses of people in five-year plans to carry out elaborate economic programs. They say this is the way for people to get more of the necessities of life. They promise hungry, distressed people food and material comforts, if only they will accept slavery to the State in return. And to people who have always been miserable, who have never known the protection of a Bill of Rights, these spurious promises sound real.

"The alternative that is offered these people through the President's idea is a way to improve their material welfare and at the same time live as free men, retain their personal dignity and independence, and develop to the full extent their individual capacities.

"Democracy must prove its case, not only among those who already know democracy, but among the vastly greater number who have never experienced it."

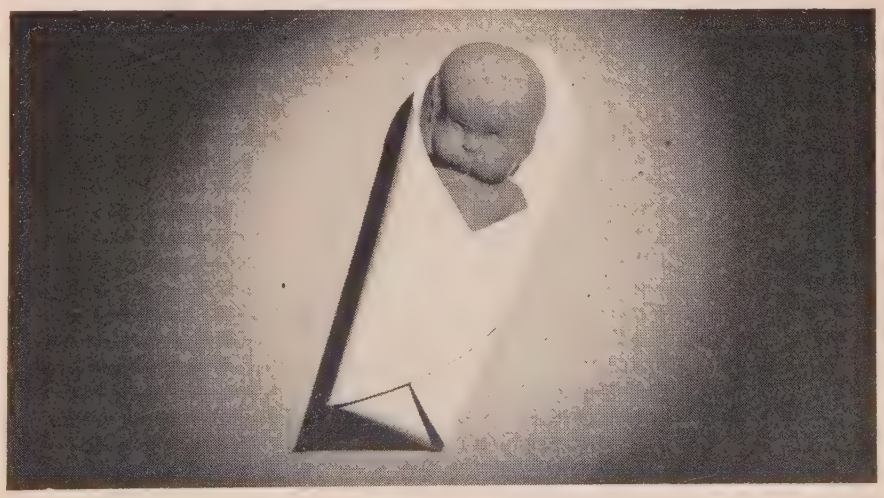
The US Congress is not so keen about the President's project. In September, James E. Webb, then acting Secretary of State, explained to the House Foreign Affairs Committee the request for $35 million to finance US Point Four and America's share of the UN program. Comment was caustic. Representative John M. Vorys of Ohio exclaimed: "The craziest thing I ever heard! Rube Goldberg must have been your consultant!" In January, Truman will be back after the money. He expects to get it.

The UN is having its troubles too. Its specialized agencies drew up grandiose blueprints for aiding backward countries to modernize their industries and agriculture and provide for the education and health of their peoples. But the program's budget shows a tendency to shrink. The underdeveloped countries wanted it set as high as $36 million, Britain as low as $12 million, the US between $15 and $25 million. The figure has come to rest at $20—which means that all estimates must be sharply curtailed. The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) will spend only $5 instead of $9 million to teach undernourished people how to produce more food. The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) must drop from $6 to $2½ million on its program to combat illiteracy. The World Health Organization (WHO) asked $11 million to fight the causes of disease in the world's worst areas. Its allotment is pared to 2½ million. But WHO's medical experts have Truman's own blind spot. They are hopefully forging right ahead with a $10 million program.

In UN inner circles there is some feeling that the $20 million budget for UN Technical Assistance is a small part of the general total of $85 million for all such programs, including the bi-lateral programs of the United States.

The UN agencies look with undisguised envy on the US agencies administering Point Four, because these are sure to have more money and more experts available. The UN often finds recruiting of specialists difficult.

It has been asked why the US increases the number of its bi-lateral programs instead of strengthening the UN to do the whole job. The fact is, it would be very hard to wrest Point Four from the hands of the US Government Departments involved. In 1938-39 these departments were authorized to enter into technical collaboration in agriculture, health and mining with the Latin-American countries, the Philippines and Liberia. They have done good work. One American expert in Guatemala showed coffee growers how to triple produc-



MOTHERHOOD AND CHILDHOOD HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPECIAL CARE.

tion on the same area. American engineers in Haiti reclaimed 10,000 acres of fertile land by drainage, and eliminated malaria.

In 1947 the Smith-Mundt Act authorized the departments to go into other areas. They prepared plans, but the 80th Congress refused an appropriation. The US Department of Agriculture was unable to proceed with work in the Near East and the Far East. Now it is waiting to do so—and so are other government agencies. They would fight bitterly any attempt to take these programs out of their hands.

Of the $35 million sought by the President, $14 million will go to the UN, the rest to US bilateral aid. Truman looks on the present US and UN programs as only a modest beginning. He wants them to expand and create conditions that will make private investors willing to risk their money abroad. Capital investment comes slowly to regions hampered by illiteracy, sickness, ignorance of essential skills. Truman sees the US a schoolteacher, not an enslaver. He would like the UN to become a reservoir of material and spiritual riches for the world.

III. Atomic Controls

The President's biggest battle is over control of atomic energy. And so is the UN's. For man's most destructive weapon could also be the tool for establishing peace and plenty. Most of the underdeveloped regions need power which atomic energy could provide. But first, the fear of mass murder has to be removed. The UN Atomic Energy Commission having bogged down in a two-year stalemate, the General Assembly asked Canada, China, France, the UK, the US and the USSR to meet and seek some basis for agreement. Their discussions have been filled with acrimony and insult. The intensity of the crossfire of these Six Powers debates is best illustrated by the following excerpts:

TSARAPKIN (USSR): The members should concentrate their attention on the question of prohibition of atomic weapons. The international control system is secondary.

HICKERSON (USA): The question of prohibition and control requires one integrated solution. The Commission's plan, approved by the General Assembly, provided a workable and effective solution. My Government will continue to support that plan until a better one is devised.

CADOGAN (UK): The USSR representative has said it was useless to talk about control without having agreed on prohibition. One might retort that the reverse is true.

CHAUVEL (FRANCE): The diversion of nuclear fuel to military purposes could be accomplished rapidly and in secrecy. Accordingly it is necessary to control nuclear industry.

TSIANG (CHINA): The USSR states that there should be a system of control "*including inspection.*" We should learn what the USSR proposes in addition to inspection.

TSARAPKIN (USSR): The only improvement from a United States viewpoint would be a plan placing all atomic energy plants under some body established by that Government. The USSR delegation has shown by weighty arguments why the majority plan is unsatisfactory. Among the main points in my Government's concept are: strict international control to be established *simultaneously* over all facilities engaged in the mining of atomic raw materials and in the production of atomic materials and atomic energy . . . the International Control Commission shall periodically carry out inspection of facilities . . . submitting recommendations for the consideration of the Security Council on measures in regard to violators. The USA and the United Kingdom would substitute for effective controls a sort of super-trust above national governments which would have exclusive ownership of atomic energy plants and resources.

HICKERSON (USA): The General Assembly decided overwhelmingly that the USSR proposals were not acceptable. A treaty which prohibited atomic weapons but permitted nations to own atomic explosives would be a contradiction in terms. Frictions would arise . . . rivalries would be more dangerous because of the sense of false security. Such a system would be no more than a fraud.

TSARAPKIN (USSR): The representative of the United States has said that facilities should not be owned or operated nationally. Yet the fact is inescapable that such facilities would have to be situated on national territory. The mere ownership of plants and stockpiles by the control organ would not alter the fact that they would remain within the grasp of nations. Thus the thesis against national ownership falls to the ground as illusory. Atomic energy installations are vast enterprises of great economic significance. If their policies were independent of the nation in which they were located, there would follow disturbance in and interference with the economic life of the nation as a result of arbitrary acts of the control organ. Such action on a nation's territory would be a violation of its sovereignty. *The plan is fantastic both economically and politically.* The adhesion of the USA to such a plan is tantamount to renouncing prohibition and control. No doubt there are some states which have nothing to lose if atomic energy came under US domination. The USSR insists upon strict control but opposes transfer of ownership to the international agency.

CADOGAN (UK): If sovereignty were to remain in a static condition, the world could expect little progress. All signatories to the United Nations Charter by that act surrendered a measure of their sovereignty. The USSR representative has frequently asserted that the majority plan is designed to confer a monopoly on the United States. If his meaning is that the international agency would be so rigged as to become a tool of the United States he should say so.

HICKERSON (USA): The agency would be the servant of the signatory states . . . unable to become the tool of one party, or to follow policies differing from those of *any* signatory.

The Commission plan states that: "a distribution (of atomic plants) is necessary which will avoid the possibility of nations achieving a military advantage by the seizure of existing stockpiles and facilities. If nations held nuclear fuels they might accumulate quantities clandestinely before discovery. The USSR proposals provide for periodic inspection. The majority opinion clearly was that it would be practically impossible to prevent diversions between inspections.

TSARAPKIN (USSR): The Soviet proposals state that the control commissions should "carry out special investigations in cases when suspicion of violations of the Convention on prohibition of atomic weapons arises."

DE ROSE (FRANCE): Radiation hazards make it impossible to have full access to large installations where operations are conducted by remote controls. It follows that periodic inspection is inadequate. The French Government could not accept a control system built upon the USSR proposals, and has arrived at *management* as a basis.

TSIANG (CHINA): The USSR proposals are only half measures. Most scientists hold the opinion that *the only solution is world government*. This might be going too far, but arguments criticizing abridgments of sovereignty are retrograde.

CHAUVEL (FRANCE): My Government admits that it seems fantastic to envisage international management of plants playing an important part in the nation's economy. However, it is equally fantastic to suppose that a man could destroy a hundred thousand men in an instant. Subject to reciprocal action, France would agree to the limitations of sovereignty required for the organization and defense of peace.

TSARAPKIN (USSR): My Government would not agree. My delegation has asked whether the United States is in favor of controls being established *simultaneously* over all stages of production, from extraction to the installations producing the finished products.

HICKERSON (USA): Obviously,

THE ATOMIC DEBATE IS MARKED BY CROSSFIRE AND BITTERNESS.

the agency could not assume overnight such tremendous responsibilities. As the activities in national hands were prohibited to nations, they would come under the full control of the agency. The whole world would benefit rapidly and equitably from the cooperative development of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

MALIK (USSR): While attempting to control at once the raw material producing areas of the world, in the Belgian Congo and other areas, the United States does not wish to have its own nuclear fuel producing plants controlled simultaneously. The Baruch plan was based on a continuing monopoly of the secret of production of atomic energy. There is no monopoly and there is no secret. If the USA continues to maintain its plan, it is difficult to see how agreement can be reached.

HICKERSON (USA): I ask the Soviet representative to indicate where the plan of control approved by the General Assembly provided that control should start with raw materials. I challenge him to find it there. I cannot, with dignity, reply further to the remarks of the USSR representative.

That is how matters stand on the third great objective of President Truman's foreign policy. In his speech at the UN cornerstone laying, he stated firmly that the Atomic Energy Commission's majority plan, approved by the General Assembly on Nov. 4, 1948, is "a good plan . . . the only plan so far developed that would meet the technical requirements of control, and would make prohibition of atomic weapons effective, and at the same time promote the peaceful development of atomic energy on a cooperative basis."

To this vexed and potentially dangerous atomic debate Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the General Assembly, has sought to bring some amelioration with his suggestion for a temporary atomic truce between the United States and the USSR, including suspension of production of atomic bombs by both nations and agreement, for at least a limited period, that atomic bombs will not be used. And Sir Benegal Rau, heading the delegation of India, has proposed that the International Law Commission be asked to study possible steps leading to a new plan of solution.

While the Six Powers continue their conservations, Canada and France introduced into the Assembly resolutions calling on members of the United Nations to sacrifice enough sovereignty to make possible effective control, carried out in accordance with the Assembly-approved majority plan.

The only thing wrong with that plan is that Russia refuses to cooperate. If Truman can help the UN find a way out of this impasse, his name will be secure in history. In his lifetime, he could win any election on the slogan, "He kept us out of atomic war."

And so the debate goes on . . .

War on Russia's Side *continued from page 21*

freedoms of private enterprise and democracy.

The Soviets, the geopoliticians note, are accomplishing tremendous industrial expansion in hydro-electric power, pigiron and steel, particularly. Their tractor-tank capacity is prodigious and their airplane capacity up to 100,000 a year.

Hence, in the November 1948 issue, the editors of *Der Weg* had concluded that it would be "impossible for the West to stop communism in a world war . . ."

They are convinced that Russia can gain full command over Europe and the Middle East within a few weeks after the outbreak of hostilities. In any such event, they point out, the Eastern allies would acquire a tremendous advantage in the war potential of resources and manpower. They stress the point that Russia is not inferior in modern weapons—about which they may well know much more than any non-Russian general staff. Readers of *Der Weg* were told that Russia had an atom bomb long before President Truman reported it to the world.

Der Weg's editors also know a great deal about Russia's bacteriological warfare, because German scientists collaborated in designing the laboratories in the secret-understanding days of the Black Reichswehr and the Rapallo Treaty. They refer guardedly to other, new "unproved weapons which the Russians are developing with the aid of German scientists." There are references to submarines, rockets, and even "rays" as well as to atom bombs. The final conclusion of the German planners is that the free West is riding for a fall. Like Hitler, they hold that the democracies are soft, empty shells condemned to inevitable defeat through the hands of more vital, more dynamic nations.

In the issue of May 1949, *Der Weg* declared:

"The soldiers of Moscow's international army are not tired of war; a powerful impulse is alive in them. But the bourgeois world of the West is bare of fanatical belief, lacking those elementary forces that stir up whole peoples, shape history, make decisions and are the source of power . . . The rulers of the Atlantic cannot kindle the enthusiasm of other nations in support of their world power."

In their contempt for the West, the Buenos Aires masterminds also include the United Nations. They repeatedly hammer away at its uselessness, and ring the death toll of the organization. In the same May 1949 issue, under the byline "G. von A.," *Der Weg* printed: "In order to keep the *status quo* in the world, the victorious nations created the UN, whose absolute failure has become obvious under the aggressive policies of both major powers — the US and the USSR."

Meanwhile, the planners—and the German people—await *Der Tag*. If it comes soon, only the paramilitary police force of the East will be equipped and trained to fight side by side with the USSR. The thin lines of Allied occupation troops can only retreat—in good order, if possible. But German troops learned in Russia the value of partisan fighting behind enemy lines. Veterans now, civilians, ex-prisoners of war, they will be active in blowing up rails, blocking highway bridges, destroying armories and oil dumps.

If *Der Tag* is delayed long enough for the "sovereign" western state of Germany to acquire an Allied-approved, trained and equipped Panzer force, the planners foresee that it will not long continue to fight on the side of the West. Where, how and when it will surrender to the Russians and turn on the fleeing American, British and French is a tactical question. The answers will remain military secrets—only the strategy is discussed openly.

There is no doubt that the blueprint has been sold to the German people, pro-Communist and anti-Communist, neo-Nazi and Roman Catholic. This, of course, is not a question of Communist sympathies. Rather, many conservative leaders are fully convinced that Russia's need for Germany will persuade the men in the Kremlin to leave Germans as masters of their destiny as far as their internal political and economic system is concerned.

Characteristic from this point of view is the following expression of total disillusionment with the West which appeared recently in *Der Weg*:

"The total destruction of the German armies in 1945 was both a crime against European peace as well as an act of tremendous naivete. The best-disciplined army ever known in world history, it had achieved countless military triumphs which will be praised long after the names of the statesmen are forgotten . . .

"Let only a few years pass and the rewriting of history will begin. What we experienced was not a Nazi catastrophe . . . (but) the errors and blunders of all countries and powers . . . By sheer superiority of armaments the Western Allies won the war —but they have long ago lost the peace. . . ."

The author of the article from which the foregoing is excerpted is Bishop Alois Hudal, an important Roman Catholic leader, and a trusted liaison agent between the German episcopate and the Vatican. His statement is of particular interest since a Catholic prelate would not take this stand if he were not convinced that a pro-Russian orientation is acceptable to religious, conservative, and anti-Communist circles in Germany.

The sober-minded geopoliticians of the Argentine exiles—the Drs. Ross and Westphal, Fried, Pahl and others —did not publish Bishop Hudal's violently anti-West article as an analysis of strategy. They published it instead because it implied sanction on a high level of the *Realpolitik* to make an alliance *against* the West —an alliance *with* communist Russia.

Franklin Roosevelt's nightmare of a Russian-American split over Germany, followed by a German-Russian combination against the US, has all but come true. The blueprint has been drawn, the plans are set. On the evidence, whatever America does, Germany will become a partner of Russia. And if it comes to war, Germany will fight on Russia's side.

The Sea Lanes of Economic Hope

WORLD TRADE
Section

The World Trade Challenge
To North America
by Donald Gordon

Point IV
s Big Business
by Herbert Harri-

Europe knows that the US and Canada
Are the hub of global prosperity.
But do they know it?

The World Trade Challenge

To North America

By DONALD GORDON

Deputy Governor, Bank of Canada

When early in 1941 Donald Gordon was appointed Chairman of Canada's wartime Prices and Trade Board, he had to design and build, almost overnight, a complicated apparatus of price ceilings, supply controls and rationing. A year later, American government officials, charged with a similar task, adopted in essentials for Washington's wartime OPM, SPAB, WPB, OPA, WLB, and other agencies, the machinery and methods which Mr. Gordon had developed. Previously he had been, very quietly and efficiently, a banker whose high skill in accountancy techniques never prevented him from taking the larger view. In September 1948, he was appointed an Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. On January 1, 1950, Mr. Gordon will assume his new position as President and Chairman of the Board of the Canadian National Railways.

EVER since 1939 we have undergone one crisis after another in the fields of world trade and foreign exchange. They have had this common feature: the inability of European and other countries to find enough resources in gold and dollars to pay for the goods which they needed to get from North America, and which North America could produce and supply. What we tend to forget is that this state of affairs created a crisis for North America as well as for the nations short of dollars.

The action taken to meet every such crisis, except for devaluation, was for the United States and Canada to make loans and gifts to finance the purchase of their own wares. During World War II, the United States did it by way of Lend-Lease, and in Canada we did the same thing, on no less a scale proportionately, under the name of Mutual Aid.

After the war, to quicken the transition from battlefront to peace front, the US and Canada again tried to

cope with the dollar shortage by making large sums available to our wartime allies, both in Europe and in Asia. America's Export-Import Bank and Canada's Department of Finance were given broad authority and large appropriations to grant rehabilitation and reconstruction loans in 1945 and 1946 to a number of European countries as well as to China. The United Kingdom did not come within those general arrangements. Because of its special position in world trade and the magnitude of the sums involved, the US and Canada together loaned Britain five billion dollars, three-quarters of which was underwritten by the United States and one-quarter by Canada.

The crisis of 1945-46 passed, but a new one developed in 1947-48. The United Kingdom found that the attempt to convert sterling into US dollars was rapidly depleting UK reserves, including the funds made available under the US loan, and the attempt to convert had to be abandoned. The drain on British and other western European reserves continued into 1948. In large measure it inspired the Marshall Plan for European recovery, the economic essence of which was to provide goods over a four-year period amounting to some 17 billion dollars, largely by way of gift.

Concurrently, Canada in 1947, for the first time since the war, also faced a dollar crisis. By the Hyde Park agreement of 1941, the United States undertook to buy from Canada in wartime to an extent necessary to match what Canada bought from the United States. This did not extend to ordinary civilian goods for peacetime use. With the Hyde Park Agreement no longer in force United States purchases from Canada fell far below Canada's purchases from the United States. At the same time, Canada's customers elsewhere were unable to provide US dollars to settle their accounts with Canada in sufficient quantity to enable the latter to settle its accounts with the United States. The result was that Canada had to slow down the rate of its assistance to Europe, and even restrict various Canadian expenditures in the United States, in order to stop the drain on its own foreign exchange reserves.

US International Trade *(Jan. through July 1949)*

IMPORTS **$7,524,000,000**

EXPORTS **$3,846,246,000**

Just three months ago still another crisis flared in the headlines: the dramatic dwindling away of the sterling areas' gold and dollars, despite Marshall Plan aid. The conferences held among spokesmen for the UK, the US and Canada, first in London and later in Washington, were actuated by the need to work out a solution for the dollar stringency on a more enduring basis than any previously adopted. In contrast to all previous action, the dollar countries made no plans for gifts or loans to others. All concerned were beginning to see that such measures, while they temporarily fill the dollar gap, do little or nothing to reduce the gap for the future. They have financed the continuation of the North American export surplus. But they have distracted attention from the fact that, in the interests of a more stable prosperous world trade, this export surplus must be eliminated or at least greatly reduced by increased imports into North America.

In looking at the North American export surplus, some distinction must be made between Canada and the United States. Both have an export surplus with the whole world. Hence the task of reducing the *North American* export surplus to manageable proportions is very largely in the hands of the United States.

Donations of Capital

Until now North America has sought by means of capital donations to make up for the inadequacies of international income among its friends abroad. For a time it was necessary and desirable to do so. But that process cannot go on indefinitely. The countries of Europe and elsewhere know this very well. They have begun to cut back their expenditures in the dollar area to the level of their deficient income from it. This is scarcely a way of doing things which can or should go very far. Nor would the countries in question prefer to pursue any such course if they thought they could, instead, increase their dollar income up to the level of their dollar outlays. It is this aspect of the problem, the increase of dollar receipts by the non-dollar world, which somewhat belatedly is receiving everybody's attention. All this presents a crucial challenge to North America. It means nothing less than a radical and far-reaching change in the whole tenor of North American thinking about international economic policy.

It means that North America must now replace Europe as the dynamic center and chief support of the world trade structure. Economic history has demonstrated time and again that multilateral world trade has to be underwritten by some country which will provide both an import market and a source of capital for productive developments in less advanced areas.

European nations in general, and Great Britain in particular, did that job effectively up to 1914, but they have tried to keep doing it, without necessary strength. North America, it is true, has supplied a lot of capital. But it has been thrown in hastily at times of crisis, rather than on a continuous underwriting basis. It has failed to furnish an adequate market for imports to assure both our debtors and ourselves that multilateral trade and capital service are indeed possible.

The World Trade Challenge *continued*

While the recent tripartite conference in Washington did not itself yield any immediate, specific measures, it did act as catalytic agent for the world-wide revaluation of currencies, set in motion with dramatic suddenness by the revaluation of sterling. That action was essentially an overdue recognition of conditions which had been crystallizing for some time. They had fostered such wide disparities between prices in North America and in Europe as virtually to amount to a two-price system. Devaluation was intended to bring prices in the dollar and non-dollar worlds much more closely in line. But devaluation cannot by itself cure the ailments which gave rise to the malaise of price disparities. Currency devaluation is not a cure-all for fundamental ills. It does not guarantee increased exports on the one hand, nor on the other increased imports by those who ought to make sure that these occur. More drastic remedies have to be applied in both debtor and creditor countries before the chain-reaction series of dollar-shortage crises can be terminated.

Expanding World Trade

In all of this, no one should overlook the striking degree of post-war recovery achieved by the United Kingdom and other western European countries. Pre-war production has been reached in all cases, except for Germany, and surpassed in most. However, living standards have not been unduly raised, if at all. On the contrary, a more than usual proportion of total available resources each year has been devoted to capital investment. Assistance from North America has largely helped to make that possible. The export and import trade of European countries with each other and with the rest of the world has continuously expanded in all directions save one—the most important one: North America.

This paradox derives from the failure to recognize the nature of the key problem which confronts the free trading world. On both sides of the Atlantic. we have failed to understand and face up to a fundamental structural alteration in the economies of Europe and North America, and in their relations with each other. We have tried to repair and patch up immediate troubles in the hope that somehow an older, more comfortable economic pattern would automatically come to life again. We have not accommodated our thinking to the idea that the old pattern is gone forever, and a new one must take its place.

The devastation of the 1914-18 war in Europe, and the exhaustion of its peoples, must now be seen as marking the end of an era. But old habits of thought die hard. The new world made loans and gifts to the old world to put it back on its feet — then promptly raised tariffs as though it were the new world rather than the old which needed protection. Full recovery was never achieved in Europe after 1918, even in Great Britain, the most mature and previously the most vigorous economy of all. While some degree of stability was temporarily and spottily maintained by American loans, the inevitable end of such loans left Europe in a desperate plight and contributed to the great agricultural and industrial depression of the nineteen thirties.

At the very outset of the depression, the United States once more sought to protect itself by heightening its tariff walls. By this time, however, as in 1920, the United States was too big, too important, to be able to pass its troubles on to others. A small country may do that, for a time, but not the most powerful and richest nation in the world. Other countries could not stand up under this impact. All of them looked for methods of safeguarding themselves against the spread of unemployment and falling prices. It is easy to imagine the effect on Canada, for example, when the United States, which had always exported far more to Canada than it imported applied prohibitive customs duties and quotas against Canadian products. The net result of all such actions, regardless of how they started, was that everybody was worse off. Unemployment grew to massive proportions and fomented serious social conflicts.

Trouble Deep-rooted

In Great Britain, the fundamental disequilibrium so apparent today was obscured by the effects of unemployment and the abnormal cheapness of imports arising from depression elsewhere. It is now clear that a full employment policy at that time within the United Kingdom, or within North America, by its effect on the volume of United Kingdom imports or on its prices, would quickly have shown that *the balance of payments of the United Kingdom in 1939 was in an even worse condition than in 1949.* The same would be true of a number of other European countries. *The fact is, at no time since 1914 has Europe been able to support a condition of full employment without external financial assistance.*

In 1938 the current deficit in the United Kingdom's balance of payments was 70 million. Imports exceeded exports by 302 million, and net invisible income was 232 million. But both export prices and import prices were lower in 1938 than they would be under conditions of full employment and buoyant world trade. At 1948 prices, the excess of imports over exports in 1938 would have been about 1 billion. Imports would have been further increased if there had been full employment in Britain.

The United Kingdom and other industrial nations of western Europe have for a long time depended on overseas sources for foodstuffs and raw materials. It was the very essence of the kind of world economy which they built up, based on the international division of labor, that they should concentrate on industrial production, and encourage and rely on a vast expansion in agricultural and other primary production abroad. In addition to providing capital for overseas development, they paid for their full import requirements with exports of goods and services. Why can't they do so today, and why haven't they in fact been doing so for the past thirty-five years?

Shift in Production

The immediate and apparent cause, no doubt, lay in the creation of industry in the new countries. These began to produce for themselves some of the goods that they previously had to import, such as textiles. To a large extent this development was inevitable and right, once these new countries passed out of the early pioneer stage. But it is also true that the process was accelerated and extended into uneconomic fields by excessive use of tariffs. Moreover, Europe found that at least one of the new countries, namely, the United States, was displaying more rapid technological progress in many lines and effectively displacing European products in many export markets.

But dynamic free economies ought to be able to adjust themselves to changing conditions. So we must look for more fundamental reasons to explain the failure of the Old-world-New-world trade system to accomplish this. One cause may be found in the Old World itself, in the rigidities of its industrial structure, the decay of efficiency in certain lines of production—above all, in the failure to replace obsolete equipment and to adjust production and marketing techniques to modern mass market conditions. An even more important, and perhaps a substantial cause of the shortcomings of European industry, was the use made of tariffs and other protective devices in the New World, to thwart and frustrate every attempt by Europe to enlarge markets for its wares. Indeed, the rates of customs duty are often highest on precisely those goods which European and other countries are able to produce best and most efficiently. And that is no accident. Until recent years at least, tariffs, subsidies, import restrictions and other devices have been used not with a view to securing the most effective use of the world's resources by a free economy, but to encourage the growth of industries some of which are uneconomic or even inappropriate. When action of this kind comes from North America, the home of free enterprise, that surely is an extraordinary state of affairs and suggests that economic thinking has not kept pace with economic change.

Canada's International Trade *(Jan. through July 1949)*

EXPORTS **$1,682,000,000**

IMPORTS **$1,641,000,000**

(In Canadian Dollars)

It is fair to say that Canada is on the whole less protectionist in its outlook than the United States. It is true, of course, that in many lines our industrial development is a good many years, perhaps a generation, behind the American and that some Canadian producers require protection against the giant industries of the United States. But in regard to our trade with Europe, it is becoming more evident that even "little" Canada can go a long way in the direction in which more and more Americans believe the United States must go: to remove barriers to imports, to accept foreign competition as an essential part of a free world economy, and therefore of the US economy, too. In the case of the United States any such policy goes far beyond the limitations of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Indeed it challenges the whole assumption that the strongest nation in the world can only encourage imports to the extent that it can obtain reciprocal action from weaker nations.

To be sure, there are onerous economic and social problems involved in reducing the degree of protection given to domestic industries. But if substantial progress cannot be made in this direction the consequences for the North American way of life will be far more serious.

Meantime, ever since 1945, European countries, spurred on by each successive dollar crisis, and being too faint in the hope of sufficiently increasing their exports and unable to develop freely their production for world markets along the lines best suited to them, have been trying desperately to produce for themselves goods not well suited to their productive resources, goods which North America in fact could produce more cheaply for them. Certainly Canada, for example, could produce lumber, newsprint and most foodstuffs much more efficiently and cheaply than the European and sterling area countries which are trying to expand their production of such items.

Failure of Self-Sufficiency

This attempt to reach self-sufficiency, in Europe and indeed throughout the rest of the world, has by no means fully succeeded, and perhaps never will. To the extent that it fails, the need to maintain tolerable standards of living and political institu-

US-Canada Trade *(Jan. through July 1949)*

US Exports to Canada . . . **$1,181,401,000**

US Imports from Canada . **$845,376,000**

(In US Dollars)

The World Trade Challenge *continued*

tions in Europe will require European countries to continue to get such supplies from the dollar countries, and get them *free*—unless the means of payment can be earned. Both Canada and the United States find themselves in the fantastic position of having to make loans and gifts to proud and industrious peoples who *want* to pay us in full with real goods, and would do so if we would let them. And in the meantime they are driven to prop up their own economies with more and more controls, more and more restrictions, more and more bilateral deals.

This raises the question of whether or not free enterprise and the operation of truly free economies throughout the world, is incompatible with the maintenance of obsolete economic policies by the people of North America.

If this analysis is correct, what remains to make the Marshall Plan genuinely successful, i.e., the expansion of exports from Europe and the rest of the world to North America, is missing. Unless a more fundamental approach is adopted and the missing ingredient is supplied, there will be further development in the wrong direction—the direction of forcing Europe to seek to become independent of the US and Canada, of inducing uneconomic production and attempts at self-sufficiency, and of encouraging European nations to trade among themselves behind a barrier of restrictions against North America.

In the plans which were developed for the post-war world, great emphasis was laid on securing agreement by all nations on desirable principles of commercial policy.

Americans and Canadians particularly insisted that the nations of Europe should sign the pledge, should join us in declaring that controls, preferences, quotas, discrimination, bilateral deals, barter, and so on, are evil things, and should promise not to use them. The conditions which would make it possible for them to do as we would like simply have not existed. Indeed, the situation has become progressively worse in this respect. Is it possible that here, too, there has been a failure to appreciate the nature of the modern world? Are we safe in assuming that we and other countries are all equal in our ability to take risks and pursue certain policies? Have we not acted rather as though we lived in a peaceful, orderly, stable international environment in which laws can be written and agreements entered into which will automatically be observed and carried out? Experience, both in the Nineteenth Century and in recent years, would seem to indicate that if we want certain policies to be observed throughout the world—or rather the non-Russian part of the world—we must ourselves *create* the necessary environment.

To be concrete, neither European nor other countries can return to free economies, can follow the kind of commercial policy to which all of us attach so much importance, so long as the dollar shortage exists. That dollar shortage cannot be effectively and permanently overcome unless North America, and especially the United States, provides a much larger, more accessible and more reliable market for the goods which other nations have for sale. Only when other nations feel secure in their income from *exports* will they be able to deal freely with their expenditures on *imports*.

Need for Capital

This hardly means that in the near future it will be necessary or possible for the United States to increase its imports fully to balance its exports. For a long time to come there will be a need also for capital to facilitate the development of other countries in many parts of the world, by way of direct investment and self-liquidating loans for productive purposes.

There are various methods by which the necessary capital may be provided. In the present disturbed conditions private investment may not be forthcoming in volume unless some kind of guarantee is provided. Direct Government loans and expenditures may be necessary at times. It is even possible to hope that, at any rate, outside the political and military spheres, adequate means could be found without direct reliance on Government. Perhaps the cooperative method of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is the modern answer to the problem. This is a business institution run on sound lines, financed in the first instance by sales of bonds to the public, though with an underlying guarantee of the United States, Canada and other member Governments. The Bank is able to give developmental projects careful study on the basis of the best commercial and financial advice. Participation of the International Bank in the industrial upbuilding of countries which require outside capital is the best guarantee that development will be fruitful and will in the end enable the beneficiaries to service their obligations.

Surely it is inherent in the altered relations between Europe and North America that the greater part of the financial and physical capital required for world development must now come from a new source, no longer from the old. The US and Canada have the necessary resources to do the job, and it is vital to our own interests to see that the job is done, and well done. This would be true in a time of peace. It is even more true in view of the cold war. Those underdeveloped areas of the world that are still outside the iron curtain must be assisted to increase their production, raise their standard of living and build up their economic and social defenses against the aggression and domination which threaten them from various imperialisms.

We of North America now stand at a cross-roads. If we take one road we accept the new role of North America. It will oblige us to furnish a ready import market for the goods of other nations. It will oblige us to supply development capital for less advanced regions. If we follow that road we may hope to see an expansion throughout the world of the good life which is our North American heritage. The alternative choice need hardly be stated.

Point 4 *Is Big Business*

It is also a point of contention
Between the isolationist and
Internationalist camps of US industry

By HERBERT HARRIS

EVERYBODY KNOWS everything about Point IV except what it means for American business. When proclaimed by President Truman in his Inaugural Address last January, Point IV was bold and new, but hardly a program. It was a declaration of intent to lift living standards in underdeveloped areas primarly by strong, steady infusions of American private capital and know-how. Today, nearly a year later, Point IV—at least in the majority view of the US business community—is still not a program. It is rather a state of mind, a general philosophy in search of concrete proposals that can be fused into a coherent workable design.

On the other hand, if the specifics of Point IV, as these relate to industry's participation, remain to be crystallized, its reciprocal purposes —moral, political and economic— have emerged into sharp focus.

(1) In moral terms, Point IV represents the view that material means should and can be used to achieve non-material ends. It assumes that certain minima of physical well-being enable people to gain human dignity, and to acquire that ability to choose alternatives. In this sense, Point IV, as an American creation, is an ideological export item in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It marks an American bid for moral leadership in today's desperate battle for men's minds.

(2) In political terms, Point IV signifies that the US Government is taking the offensive against Communism in an attempt not only to prevent its onset in new territory but also to demonstrate its willingness to assist even areas already communist-oriented. Point IV represents a drive to win allegiance for democracy as against totalitarianism, especially among the populations of such underdeveloped areas as the Middle East, India, Indonesia, Africa and Latin America. Like the Marshall Plan, Point IV reflects the belief that destitution and lack of hope for the future incubate Communism; but unlike the Marshall Plan which has been and remains almost exclusively an American show, Point IV enlists the collaboration of the UN and will function through its agencies wherever feasible.

(3) In economic terms, Point IV is an effort to promote stability and productivity on a global scale through three devices: (a) to expand world trade and balance it more equitably; (b) to introduce mid-Twentieth Century technology into industrially underdeveloped regions mainly through private investment and export of modern managerial engineering and supervisory skills; (c) to open up new markets and raw material sources for the American economy, on a *quid pro quo* basis of mutual advantage. Point IV differs drastically from the Marshall Plan under which the US Government extends loans and credits to the Governments of the 16 ERP recipient nations. Point IV instead stresses that private enterprise should carry the major work load in providing both money and manpower with the Government acting only to create the proper economic environment.

Moreover Point IV repudiates the economic myth that all countries can be divided into two distinct categories: (1) those which by the nature of things are "manufacturing" countries, and (2) those which inherently are destined to produce only raw materials. It declares that if living standards are going to be raised, the turbine, the tractor, the typewriter, the punch press and the

Point 4 Is Big Business *continued*

pump, and the other heralds of modern mechanization, have to be introduced and distributed over ever widening geographic areas—in the field, in the mine, in the factory, in the office. The older industrialized nations, such as the US and the UK and France and Belgium cannot—even if they worked their machines and labor around the clock—begin to supply the manufactured goods that the world really needs. The famous League of Nations study "Industrialization and Foreign Trade" proved that years ago. It pointed out that in the years 1926-1929 two-thirds of the world's population had an annual average supply of finished factory goods of less than $7 per capita. On the other hand, one-third of the world's population had an annual average of $104 per capita. If, during this three year period, the less fortunate two-thirds were to have enjoyed a supply of manufactured wares equal only to one-half that of the more fortunate one-third, or $52 a year, their imports alone of manufactured goods would have had to be increased 16 times.

Until other data are finally assembled, this remains the classic example of what a rise in living standards, expressed through a rise in purchasing power, could accomplish in enlarging world markets.

It is this double emphasis upon new markets and upon participation by private enterprise which accounts for the debates and discussions and discords that still swirl around Point IV in top business circles. The American executive with a stake in foreign trade clearly comprehends Point IV aims. As a businessman, he is interested in its potential profits. As a citizen, he is interested in how it can advance democracy; and as an American, he is interested in extending cooperation if it leads to self-help.

But he is baffled by what mechanics the Administration intends to adopt to enable his company to fit into Point IV in a practical way.

In this regard, the lines of communication between industry and government seem to be clogged. This is, in Bismarck's phrase—worse than a crime, it is a blunder. Realistically, the success or failure of Point IV depends upon the American business community and particularly upon its big business units. Although there are 3,000 American firms with foreign branches and subsidiaries, 21 of the larger companies account for 75 per cent of the total outflow of new US capital abroad. At the moment, long term private investment abroad stands at $17 billion; of this sum $11.3 billion represents money put in by US corporations for operating their overseas affiliates.

Trend of US Foreign Investments

The comparatively small number of firms now setting the pace for foreign ventures and the fact that funds are supplied from company coffers, rather than by sale of stock to the public confirm a tremendous shift in the course of US foreign investment. During the 1920's, for example, some 73 per cent of US capital that went abroad was provided by a vast number of individual and corporate investors. They purchased —even if at fancy and imaginative prices—the bonds and debentures of foreign enterprise, both private and state owned. But the depression decade of defaults effectively fostered "never again" resolutions that have been kept on the whole by the American investing public. Generally, it is determined to stay away from foreign shores and foreign shares. The result is that today this source of new investment is drier than Kansas. At the same time, the small business man dismayed by the postwar complications of doing business overseas, what with its problems of market research, contacts, import quotas and exchange rates, tends to veer away from attempts to achieve foreign sales. Today almost all US capital moving abroad, outside the ERP and US participation in the World Bank and the like, is furnished by the larger American business firms for their own foreign activities. In 1948 all US companies invested $1.5 billion overseas. They are prepared in 1950 to invest $2 billion and even more; but before doing that they would like to know more about Point IV in practice and where it is going and why. They agree entirely with its objectives. But they are anxious to have the measures to achieve them more precisely spelled out. Their interest in Point IV also reflects a certain apprehension that if business does not concern itself with this project, Government will be tempted to enter new fields of economic development on its own—fields where they feel it does not belong. They tend to believe that Mr. Truman, in stressing the part to be played by private enterprise under Point IV, was trying to goad US business into a more active and dynamic resumption of its role as pioneer and entrepreneur and to stimulate a new willingness to take risks. They think all this may be an auspicious omen and they have therefore heeded carefully the remarks of various administration spokesmen to the effect that Point IV signifies a new and necessary "partnership" between Government and business. At the same time, however, they see Mr. Bergson in the Anti-Trust Division and Mr. Mead in the Federal Trade Commission, and Mr. Celler in the House and Mr. O'Mahoney in the Senate, as the four horsemen of a new onslaught against bigness *per se* often against the very corporations which will be called on to assume the major investment and technical load under Point IV. They wonder what sort of partner it is who invites you to dinner and who serves cocktails with a shrivel stick instead of a swizzle stick.

Over and above a not unnatural suspicion of a Fair Deal Administration which regards the Sherman Act as the beginning of wisdom, industrial management is pressing for detailed clarification of Point IV as a new function and new horizon for private enterprise.

Key figures in business want to know what and where and how the

government is going to foster a "climate" favorable to US business investments abroad. They are willing to assume the normal commercial risks of building and extending overseas operations including that great American privilege of losing their shirts. It is the non-commercial risks which trouble them most—the risks that derive from behavior of foreign governments, actions with which no single business, or group, can possible cope. How will the US government protect them from such risks as:

(1) The loss of a foreign plant through nationalization with compensation in currency other than dollars.

(2) The difficulty of converting profits made abroad into dollars for dividend payments at home.

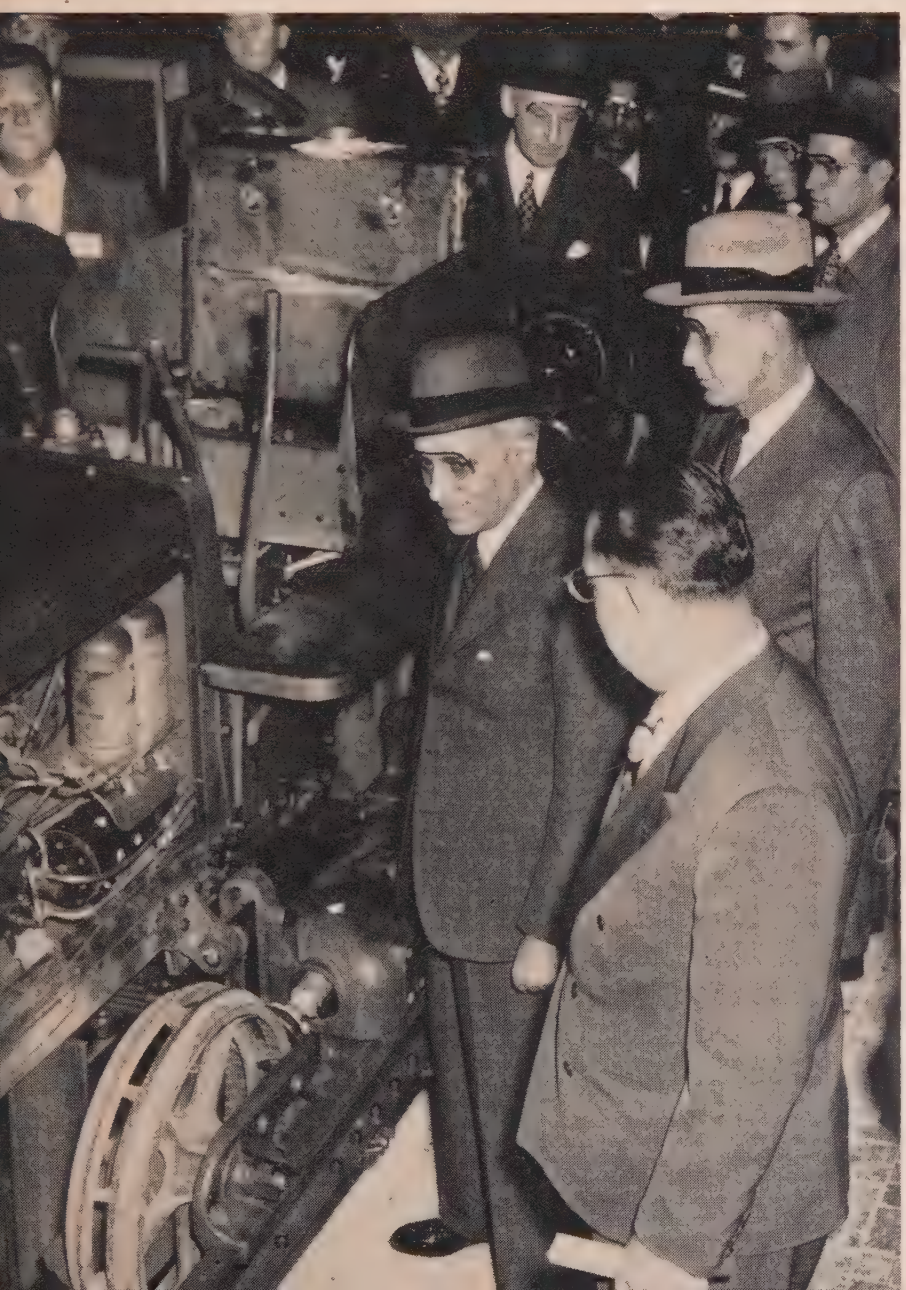
(3) The appropriation of patents, trademarks and copyrights by unfriendly influences.

(4) Discriminatory taxation in favor of a country's competitive undertakings owned by its nationals.

(5) Expropriation, destruction or damage to physical properties as a result of war or revolution.

Latterly there has been a spate of schemes for insurance to cover these and similar hazards. One suggestion is that the US government sell insurance policies to business at an average premium rate of one per cent along the lines of FDIC insurance for bank deposits and FHA insurance for real estate mortgages. Lloyds of London and some US insurance companies are looking into the possibility of coverage for particular risks of particular private companies. Without too accurate an appraisal of Big Business views on this subject, the Administration has introduced two bills (52197 and H.R. 5594) to vest in the Export-Import Bank the power "to guarantee US private capital invested in productive enterprises abroad which contribute to economic development in foreign countries against risks peculiar to such investments." While some business groups approve this approach, the majority opinion is that the incentives for US business to participate in Point IV can be provided without government guarantees which are likely to lead to an undue amount of regulation, and to involve the government too much in business.

INDIA'S NEHRU EXAMINES AN INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER TRACTOR



What business would like to have from the government on Point IV:

(1) A pledge that treaties of commerce, navigation and friendship be concluded with each "Point IV country" to insure to US businessmen the same treatment in every respect—financial, fiscal and legal—accorded to their own nationals.

(2) The formulation of a code of fair investment practices to be mutually signed and enforced by the governments of the US and a Point IV country in view of the inherent imbalance in the world economy.

(3) That bilateral agreements on cooperation and self-help under Point IV be worked out, as steps toward multilateral trading.

(4) That a special division be established within the US State Department to integrate the various phases of Point IV, in conjunction with an advisory board drawn from businessmen and economists experienced in foreign trade.

(5) Unequivocal assurance from the government that it does not intend itself to supply either the funds or technicians for foreign countries, to develop their productive, natural and human resources; but rather, will entrust these tasks to private enterprise except in special cases.

It is tragic testimony to the lack of effective liaison between the Administration and key personalities in US business that while they agree on aims, their actions still diverge. Actually, it should not be too difficult to define and nail down the jurisdiction of each in effectuating Point IV. There are really three sectors: the one belonging to private enterprise, the second to government, and the third to both. To private enterprise should go the job of expanding the output of raw materials from corn to copper, of processing them, as well as manufacturing finished goods. To government should go the job of improving health, sanitation, education. To both should go irrigation and flood control, agricultural development, the construction of ports, highways and railroads. In this area the US government together with such international agencies as the World Bank could furnish low-interest loans the proceeds of which could enable private enterprise to supply, on a fee basis, its knowledge in applying the industrial arts.

Certainly the time is long overdue for the Administration and US business to get together and get down to brass tacks to deliver on the promises of Point IV. The Administration would be well advised to summon in continuous session spokesmen for such organizations as the NAM, ICC, NFTC and similar interested bodies, together with a cross section of top management personnel engaged in foreign trade, and hammer out a mutually satisfactory plan of campaign for Point IV. Otherwise Point IV will remain a piecemeal phenomenon with more piety than performance. Yet both business and government need it to be a concerted drive well conceived and efficiently coordinated. For industry, Point IV can open up new frontiers with profit potentials that run into the billions. For the government, it is an indispensable part of US foreign policy. For both it is the opportunity to prove again that private enterprise and democracy are Siamese Twins.

New Partnership: World Business and the UN

WHEN the engineers of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the International Telephone and Telegraph Company gave a ready signal on United Nations Day, October 24, at 9 AM, business offices in over 194 cities in 49 countries were connected with their world headquarters in New York, and modern world business leadership moved a great step forward. The address, carried over the wires and translated immediately into 20 languages, was that of a great American businessman—Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the board of International Business Machines Corporation and of the IBM World Trade Corporation—who, with his legendary clear-sightedness, pointed out to the 8000 members of his global personnel and their families outside of the United States two things that would directly affect their lives and their livelihoods: (1) their integration into the new IBM World Trade Corporation; (2) their opportunity to play a part in making the United Nations effective, through their cooperation as individuals and as a team.

Mr. Watson referred to the day as one of double significance to his organization: "the beginning of our new plans to render greater service to the economy and well-being of the countries in which we operate and the laying of the cornerstone for the new United Nations building." Like other Americans in the forefront of international trade, he had long realized that business can be profitably conducted only in a secure and peaceful world.

His speech was a three-part symbol. First, it demonstrated in a practical way how modern communications are establishing ever-closer contacts among the peoples of the world, whether on business, political or cultural concerns. Second, it dramatized the profound faith of a man and a business in the prospects and potentialities of world trade as a force that can promote the well-being of all nations. To those who are sometimes hesitant to invest overseas, the IBM experience in the field of foreign commerce is worth pondering. From 1939 to 1948, IBM's international branches, now fused into a single World Trade Corporation, showed an increase of 340 per cent in sales, and an increase of 35.4 in personnel. While many others, deterred by currency, tariff and production uncertainties, have held back operations abroad, IBM has consistently expanded its organization serving overseas markets. Third, a major portion of Mr. Watson's speech stressed support of the UN. It affirmed faith in the UN's future at the same time that it linked world business stability and prosperity with the ability of the UN to keep the peace.

UN diplomats, irrespective of political philosophies, were deeply impressed by Mr. Watson's emphasis upon the interdependence of the UN and world trade. To those worried about the permanence of American support for the UN, Mr. Watson gave an unequivocal answer. He declared that "we in the United States are thankful, and pleased to pay taxes to raise money for this great purpose." In urging support for the UN, Mr. Watson appealed to both governments and peoples, and particularly to every individual in his own organization. He asked them to give their allegiance to the UN as a major instrument of world peace, as well as prosperity. UN diplomats hope that Mr. Watson's sound and common sense internationalism will mark the beginning of a trend that will be followed by other members of the American business community.

HOWARD D. CARTER

A cheaper pound will not solve
The world's economic problems unless
Every country increases its output

DEVALUATION:

First Pulse Reading

A British View

By RONALD BRECH

THE general readjustment of currencies, which followed on the devaluation of sterling two months ago, has so far done little to solve the world's economic problem. Western Europe depends just as much as before on North American supplies of vital foodstuffs and raw materials, while its dollar-earning capacity has not yet expanded significantly. In many respects, devaluation was not a positive act of policy. It was rather the acceptance of conditions which had already existed for many months. By itself, therefore, its effect was likely to be restricted. More important is that governments in all countries pursue policies which will keep costs down.

An exchange rate between two countries should reflect the relative value of each currency in terms of the other. If one currency is devalued it means that its goods will be cheaper for the other to buy, while conversely the other's goods will be dearer for the former country to buy. The simple principle is that devaluation makes exports cheaper and imports dearer. But when the country which devalues happens to be the world's largest import market, it may, after an initial period, influence the prices of the goods it imports. Thus in 1931, within six months after Britain devalued sterling, world commodity prices began to fall back to their pre-devaluation level and even below it. But there are certain important differences between then and now, which tend to vitiate direct comparison.

The Risk of Inflation

In the first place, commodity markets were free eighteen years ago. Now they are restricted by government buying and government selling. Secondly, the United States was not a large importer of raw materials except of tin and rubber, now the level of industrial activity in the United States dominates the world markets for many important raw materials, while its domestic price support policy for agricultural products tends to set limits below which world prices cannot fall. Thirdly, in 1931 the whole world was experiencing an industrial depression with high or rising unemployment. A vast proportion of industrial capacity was standing idle and prices in general were falling. Nowadays full employment obtains in Europe, while even in the United States unemployment is still relatively small. Fourthly, retail prices in Britain and almost all other countries were unsubsidized and there was no rationing. Today, rationing and food subsidies exist in Britain, and disguised subsidies in the form of guaranteed prices for domestic agricultural products exist in other countries. The net effect of these dif-

Devaluation: First Pulse Reading *continued*

ferences is that this time prices are likely to take longer to fall—producers, in other words, are more insulated from the impact of consumer resistance to higher prices—and that, therefore, the risk of inflation in those countries which have devalued their currencies will be all the greater.

The whole of the sterling area, with the exception of Pakistan, devalued to the same extent as Britain, and so did Burma, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Iceland, Iraq, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. For these countries imports from dollar sources will rise by a maximum of 44 per cent, while the cost of imports of those sterling area goods which have a market in the United States might rise between 5 and 10 per cent. Seven countries—Belgium, Canada, France, Western Germany, Israel, Italy and Portugal—devalued their currencies, but to a lesser extent than sterling. The cost of their imports from dollar sources will rise by a smaller amount, while to them, sterling area goods will tend to be cheaper. Switzerland, the United States and the other dollar-account countries which have not devalued, will find sterling area goods up to 30 per cent cheaper since devaluation. Russia, and Eastern European countries which have trade agreements with Britain, will not be directly affected by devaluation, because both the goods they sell and those they buy have been calculated in terms of sterling. Indirectly, they will, of course, be affected by any subsequent rise in the price of sterling area goods.

Freer Trade for Britain

The course of events in the coming months will depend in the main on the British Government's determination to resist the pressure of inflation. It is of little use saying that wages must not rise; the point is, that no matter what pressure is brought to bear, wages will in fact not be allowed to rise.

If wages and costs are allowed to rise, the benefits of devaluation will have been frittered away, and Britain will be in a worse financial position without the possibility of devaluing further.

But if inflation is checked what, then, are likely to be the results? Europe's prosperity depends to a great extent on Britain's. If the British rate of exchange is a more accurate reflection of its price and income structure, Britain will be able to trade more freely with other countries without having to worry about its gold and dollar reserves. In this way the volume of intra-European trade is likely to rise and so, too, will the standard of living of the European peoples. Secondly, the effect of the devaluation of sterling will be deflationary in those European countries which have not devalued to the extent of sterling—that is, the supply of goods available will increase more than the increase in incomes. This may cause some short-term unemployment as their individual industrial structures meet the impact of competition from British goods and the resistance of British consumers to higher prices for imported goods. The degree of unemployment caused will depend on the rigidity of the respective industrial structures; the more easily they can adapt themselves—that is, by expanding output in certain fields and by reducing it in others—the smaller will be the unemployment.

Output Must Increase

The same is broadly true of the United States. The expansion in British exports to North America—the increase is more likely to take place in the Canadian market, but there, too, at the expense of American goods—will mean increased competition for American industry and reduced sales. Again, the initial impact may create some unemployment, but as trade between the two currency areas—dollar and sterling—gets on to a sounder footing, the standard of living in both areas will tend to rise.

Even in Britain, devaluation may create unemployment, unless the direction (or even redirection) of labor works smoothly enough to permit labor to be transferred from those industries whose sales will decline to those whole sales will expand. The main problem in Britain will be to expand output at a time when employment is at a peak. The only possible ways are by increasing output per man hour or by working longer hours. If output cannot be expanded appreciably, then the export drive can only be a success by reducing the volume of goods available to the home market and to other countries which have devalued to the same extent as sterling. This will in turn mean a lower standard of living, and since incomes will be maintained governments will have to mop up the surplus purchasing power if inflation is to be curbed.

An Essential Adjustment

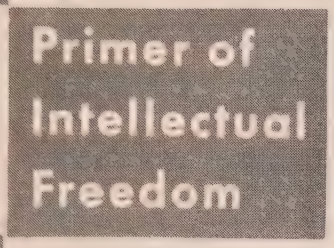
This prognosis does not sound very cheerful. But, after all, devaluation is not a panacea for Britain's economic ills. Its value lies in the fact that it gives the Government a good excuse to pursue more determinedly than it has done in the past a policy of restricting spending power at home, while at the same time it offers more immediate results. To rectify Britain's adverse trade balance by a deflationary policy at home would have taken many, many months and caused considerable social distress. Now the improvement in the balance of payments should be seen within two or three months, and any unemployment caused should be of more minor proportions. Finally, because Britain is such a large trading unit any devaluation of its currency will cause other countries to adjust their internal domestic policies accordingly.

The world's economic problem can only be solved by countries adjusting their output so that they dovetail into each other and enable trade to expand. During the post-war years, countries were occupied with their own problems of reconversion and rehabilitation. Each put off the day of adjustment until the last possible moment. With the devaluation of sterling that moment arrived not only for Britain but also for all other components in the world economy.

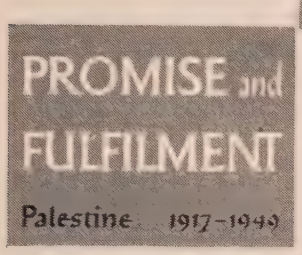
UNW Book Reviews

By ANNE FREMANTLE

By Vannevar Bush.
Simon and Schuster. $3.50.



By Howard Mumford Jones.
Harvard University Press. $2.75.



By Arthur Koestler.
The Macmillan Company. $4.00.

"I AM NOT much of a prophet," Dr. Bush says modestly, "yet I have specialized in the development of new weapons and wrestled with the scientific problems of total war." There are, indeed, few people alive who can write with such terrible truth and clarity of the various devices men have perfected for the destruction of their own kind. The whole contrast in the book is between the perfection and precision of the methods of destruction, and the fumbling, pathetic futility of the guards that goodwill would raise in defense against them. Dr. Bush himself speaks of "the attempt to build some sort of United Nations," but he reverences and cherishes the astonishing fact that "mother-naked man," of all creatures the most vulnerable, sans vulture claws, or mastodon armor, sans serpent fangs or tusks or horns, has yet arrived, by virtue of the democratic process, at a safety unknown elsewhere in nature. Dr. Bush is apt to wax a bit "mysticky" in the fervor of his faith. It is a fault to which scientists are prone: Sir James Jeans, Sir Arthur Edington, Professor Einstein, even Julian Huxley and Bertrand Russell seem starry-eyed when they venture into philosophy.

But on his own subject, "the technical advance in the art of war during the interval of peace," Dr. Bush is matchless. And he writes with a terrifying simplicity so that it is impossible not to understand. He shows how two factors made possible modern techniques of war: the idea of reliable complexity in intricate designs, and the relegating to machines of functions of computation and judgment formerly performed by men. He shows the extraordinary chances of war; a radio ham was one of the principal designers of magnetrons, and though he never went beyond high school, can talk on his own terms with Einstein. And Dr. Bush gives an idea of the pace of invention: the means of a successful breakthrough in 1940 were utterly obsolete by 1944. He suggests that owing to the possibilities of land-mining in depth, defense may again be in the ascendant in land warfare. He even suggests that, in World War III, the deadlock of World War I might well reappear. He explains many strange things, such as why radar can be jammed over land, but not over sea; why it is so hard to find any effective defense against stratosphere bombing with guided bombs; why the day of the great ship may be over; why the days of mass-bombing (saturation bombing) may also be approaching their end.

Dr. Bush's comments on the atom bomb are a surprise, for he suggests that the cost, compared with TNT (which when manufactured in quantity is less than $1 a pound) will always make it a weapon to use by sneak or selective means, rather than for mass attacks. The innocent-looking kamikaze merchant ship, moored at the quay of the great port, is the true atomic peril, he thinks: one such could make large parts of a key city uninhabitable for a long time. We must, he warns, take into account too the possible delivery of bombs by submarine, the "bombs being lobbed into coastal cities by rocket projectors" five miles or so away. He warns that there is immensely greater danger of under-water explosions of atomic bombs, as at Bikini, because of the impossibility of decontamination, and because of the "wall of mist" that makes large areas uninhabitable deserts for years. Dr. Bush belittles poison gas and bacteriological warfare. "Scientific progress," he says, "if we call it progress, has produced new toxic agents having novel applications to war." But such toxic materials are more important in our thinking about weapons than in all-out combat between fully prepared adversaries.

From his factual account of what is ready, Dr. Bush gives us a pretty clear picture of what war will be like when it comes. But he goes on to say that only our *willing* it will make it come. It need not come. There have

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Books *continued*

always been two schools: those who think of peace as the normal condition, and of war alarms as a vestige of a sorry past that we should soon outgrow; and those who think war normal, and peace merely a breathing space, an opportunity to recover war potential.

Ours is always the choice. Dr. Bush points out that once, a few billion years ago, there was an event—cataclysm, or creation. "No physicist or astronomer will attempt to step back of it in his accounts, nor will he contend that it is, or ever will become revealed in its entirety to a finite mind." Yet from the moment of that cataclysm, Dr. Bush insists, there has always been the choice: forward, to what the best of us have become and achieved, or backward, into undifferentiated nothingness. And that forward, a good not an evil, is the intended order of the universe. This Dr. Bush exemplifies by the greater efficiency of democracies over dictatorships: the free man, the supple man, the adaptable man, is also the most powerful. When research teams were sent into Germany after the war to study such problems as the German handling of strategic weapons, manpower, propaganda, military organization and coordination, "every team we sent returned convinced that the democratic system is clearly more efficient, dollar for dollar and hour for hour, than any totalitarian system." So also in scientific inquiry: if the facts of heredity must be tailored to fit the Marxian figure, more will be lost at Mohacs field.

Everything that happens to us is our own fault. If we lose our liberties it will be because we have first abandoned them. Today, Dr. Bush insists, men can finally "mold the whole earth in their pattern of freedom, and create one world under law."

How not to lose those liberties is shown us by Dr. Howard Mumford Jones. And also, in what constant peril they are. He prints a collection of significant pronouncements regarding one of the four freedoms: of speech and of the press. Never, it would seem, was the danger greater than it is today: but also, never has the defense been more sure. These pronouncements of 1949—of James Rhyne Killian, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in defense of Dr. Dirk J. Struik; of Robert Hutchins to the Broyles Commission; of Greville Clark and James Bryant Conant of Harvard and of Henry Steele Commager on "Why is Loyal to America" not only stand beside Mill and Morley and Milton, but in many ways are an improvement on them. The English language is richer by three hundred years since the Areopagitica was written.

Dr. Hutchins is wonderfully funny when he recalls that "it is now fashionable to call anybody with whom you disagree a Communist or a fellow-traveler. So Branch Rickey darkly hinted the other day that the attempt to eliminate the reserve clause in baseball contracts was the work of Communists." Conant's assertion that Harvard believes in "free trade in ideas," E. B. White's definition of democracy as "the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time"; Commager's assertion that "loyalty is . . . a realization that America was born of revolt, flourished in dissent, became great through experimentation" are but samples of a feast in store for anyone giving or receiving "A Primer of Intellectual Freedom" this Christmas. For Christmas is as good a time as any other to make our own the truths. Dr. Bush and Dr. Jones both make this clear: that no truth *is* ours until we have made it so, and that the choice is constant, continual. Mr. Koestler's uneven story of the birth of Israel is also very seasonable, for, as he says, Jews are like other people, only more so. Jewry is "the human condition carried to extreme." Israel's rebirth after two thousand years is "a freak phenomenon of history." But the freak yields important clues to general laws: "dwarf stars and human giants, radioactivity and parthenogenisis, prophets, maniacs and saints are all freaks which carry the conditions of normality to a pointed and profiled extreme." So Mr. Koestler looks at that country, in subjective pursuit of the objective truth. He leans over back-

ward to be fair: Israel's existence is based, he says, on an accomplished fact at the expense of the original native population; and he calls the Balfour Declaration "a promise by one nation to a second of the country of a third." From the point of view of national sovereignty and self-determination, he insists, Israel is an historic injustice. But having admitted so much, he dismisses Bernadotte's murder in half a line, and abandons the objective, historical account of events used in describing (exceedingly well) events up to 1945, for a personal "close-up," which is a pity. For his savagely unemotional account of the little death ships is far more effective than his later accounts of psychosexual infantilism in native Jews. Luckily, he ends with a factual, objective account of the political structure of Israel and of the rebirth of the Hebrew language. On the whole, however, an uneven book, hardly worthy its tremendous subject.

Loving

by Henry Green. New York, The Viking Press. $3.00.

HENRY GREEN who, rumor has it, is a not-at-all tired, but on the contrary very successful businessman, wrote an extraordinarily good novel about fifteen years ago, called *Party-Going*. Now he has followed it with an even better. *Loving* is a below stairs story, about the servants in a big Irish castle during World War II. The style is a *tour-de-force:* Green uses Cockney dialect, brogue, the Oxford accent of the educated, and the various shades of voice, from Nannie to cook. He has caught the lilt and measure of each, so that the conversations read like a music score. For sheer writing, this novel gives undiluted pleasure, and the horror of little Albert strangling the peacock, and of the maggotty corpse hung in the larder, are counterpoint to Edith's delighted horror when she finds her lovely mistress in bed, naked, with the Captain, and Mr. John at the war.

This is an epitome of a whole civilization, caught in a brief moment in time. As a camera shot eternalizes one sunshine holiday so Mr. Green has fixed the discomforts and the loveliness, the hating and the loving, in parlor and in kitchen. The whole book is understated, so that the rumors of war and the terrors of the English, aliens in so foreign a country, are muted, and only the rickety, mouldering beauty of the loveliest castle yet to be burnt down, emerges. It is, on another level, a pastiche of Franz Kafka's infinitely greater *The Castle*, a sort of country-cousin, artless, yet shining with the whole beauty of a rain-sweetened landscape. Without sentiment or blurring, the love story of Edith and her Raunce, the young butler, is idyllic: "What he saw then he watched so that it could be guessed that he was in pain with his great delight. For what with the peacocks bowing at her purple skirts, the white doves nodding on her shoulders round her brilliant cheeks, and her great eyes that blinked tears of happiness, it made a picture."

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An Editorial by Louis Dolivet

The Age of the Peace Ultimatum

PERHAPS the strangest innovation in international diplomacy took place in the grand UN debate over the Russian proposal for a Five Power non-aggression pact and the Western counter-move for a Twelve Point program to carry out the principles of the Charter.

Each side addressed to the other a demand for more pacific behavior, but couched in terms so bellicose that the net result amounted almost to an ultimatum for peace.

The Soviet Union assailed the war-like purposes of the US and UK with a vehement vituperation that in former times would have sufficed as a *casus belli*. It appealed to all the parables of Russian literature to symbolize the martial intent of every facet of the West's foreign policy.

In similar vein the US and UK, in their reply, asserted that it was Russia alone which threatened world peace. They emptied the English vocabulary of maledictions which even a decade ago would have incited to war, to accuse the USSR of everything from slavery to aggression to denial of human rights, and to urge it to mend its ways lest it precipitate World War III.

The innovation therefore consists in this that the ultimata exchanged between East and West contained not demands for territorial concessions or reparations for damages, or apologies for insults to a flag—but a demand to endorse and put into practice the principle of peace.

This momentous debate, perhaps the most dramatic since the UN's founding, is especially notable for the way it demonstrates that to defend the peace has become the greatest asset of any nation, and to jeopardize it the greatest liability. In other words, all governments—whether communist, capitalist, socialist or whatever—realize that world public opinion, for the first time in history, has developed to a point where it refuses to accept any policy which may menace the peace of the world.

Beyond the ideological conflicts between East and West, a new universal philosophy of peace has emerged; it is a philosophy to which all must pay at least lip service.

There is endless opportunity and infinite danger in this situation. The opportunity is to be found in the fact that the supporters of peace have a chance to preserve it since they represent the striving of the majority of mankind.

The danger is to be found in the fact that those who intend to pervert this striving may hide behind it their preparations for war; this may even become the most tragic example of the "Trojan Horse" in human annals.

The importance attached by both sides to this great debate is illustrated by the incredible exertions of the Soviet Government to win supporters for its Five Power Pact proposal among the smaller nations, who fear obliteration if war should break out again. What the Soviet Government hoped to achieve was a success similar to the one it gained at the General Assembly in 1947, when its famous resolution against war-mongering was unanimously adopted with only a few amendments.

It was precisely a success of this kind that the US Government feared. It was evident that everyone would favor the Five Power Pact idea if it seemed to hold forth any promise of peace. Convinced, however, that it could not do so, the US Government began round-the-clock consultations with representatives of 18 key countries, from all continents. For hours and hours the proposed US-UK resolution was submitted to the critical cross-fire of these other delegates.

This method of careful advance consultation—which incidentally has become a chief characteristic in the diplomatic technique of Ambassador Warren R. Austin, Chief of the US Delegation to the UN—is slowly overcoming the automatic character of the majority-minority vote on vital questions. On ideological matters, to be sure, the Assembly is pretty well divided between the Soviet and anti-Soviet blocs, but in such an over-all debate about peace that majority is not automatic.

After the debate, diplomats from many countries informed us that they were less pessimistic about the future now than at any time before—despite all the violence of language, unprecedented in diplomatic exchange. They contend that as long as one side has to prove to the other, and to the world, that its policy is essentially to maintain the peace, war actually cannot be started. It can be started only when one side will have convinced the majority of mankind that the other side has made war unavoidable.

We know of no greater service that could be rendered than to obtain one particular agreement from both the East and the West, namely, to translate and distribute the full text of the speeches made by each side to all peoples without comment. By reading these statements, in which no punches are pulled, the common man could judge for himself who serves good and who evil.

The realization that, irrespective of all ideologies, a new world war would mean the destruction of our whole civilization, explains why we have entered the curious stage of the peace ultimatum. But an ultimatum, even if intended to preserve the peace, is by its very nature perilous since, in this case, the means could defeat the end.

Hence people everywhere must brace themselves for a new gigantic effort. They must prepare to spend as much time and energy and money for peace as they did for war. Otherwise, we shall never be able to uproot the vestigial remains of barbarism from our psychic and political systems and put the UN in a position to deal with its ultimate objective: the building of the City of Man.

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And now because of recent favorable developments in rates of exchange in virtually all European countries, a greater number of Americans will be able to avail themselves of the educational advantages and pleasures that Europe has to offer.

This permits more Americans to live and associate with their European neighbors . . . to see them when they are busy at their normal, everyday pursuits. The American visitor rubs elbows with them and discovers that they are people much like his neighbors back home —that they are folks he is glad to know and pleased to call his friends.

As a result, more and more Americans will return with a new knowledge of their neighbors across the Atlantic. They will come home with vivid and delightful recollections of the great and famous cities they have visited. They will recall with pleasure Europe's charming countryside. *Many* will have availed themselves of Europe's educational facilities. *All* will have acquired a deeper understanding of Europe's cultural contributions to the world . . . will have obtained a more complete understanding of the peoples who maintain their cultural heritages despite vicissitudes.

It is such understanding among the average citizens of all lands that will build a world of united nations—nations united to guard the rich blessings of Peace.

Representatives in America of the

European Travel Commission

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UNDERSTANDING. . . THROUGH TRAVEL . . . IS THE PASSPORT TO PEACE

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